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FOREIGN MINISTRY NOTE REJECTS SFRY PROTEST

AU281847 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 28 May 81

[Note of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, communicated to Branko Komatina, Yugoslav ambassador in Tirana]

[Text] ATA has been informed that the assistant federal secretary for foreign affairs of the SFRY, Obradovic, yesterday summoned the Albanian ambassador, Sokrat Plaka, reiterating the protest about and displeasure with the investigation carried out by our experts in the presence of the Yugoslav ambassador in Tirana, in connection with the incident at the annex of the Yugoslav Embassy building on 23 May.

In connection with this, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Reiz Malile summoned the Yugoslav ambassador in Tirana, Branko Komatina, and informed him of the following:

1. We indignantly reject your repeated and unfounded protests. We have never attacked and will never attack the Yugoslav Embassy in Tirana. All that has been said about us in this respect is a slander and invention by the Yugoslav side and it has been done with definite intentions, which intimidates us not at all. Our Ministry of Foreign Affairs has given you an answer in connection with what happened at the annex of your embassy and we remove not a single comma from our statement, which is based on facts that have been investigated, checked and verified.

2. As for the Vienna Convention, there is no need for anyone to remind us of it. We are aware of the convention and apply it strictly. We have applied and will continue to apply it with regard to the Yugoslav Embassy in Tirana, just as we insist that you yourselves apply it regarding our embassy in Belgrade.

3. If you wish, we are prepared to agree that a team of your experts should come to investigate the matter on the spot, provided that the investigation, which is to be conducted for your own purposes, is conducted in the presence of our own experts who were called by your embassy, as well as in the presence of the Yugoslav ambassador in Tirana and the embassy counselor who attended the investigation. As far as we are concerned, the investigation is complete and has been photographed and filmed.

4. There have been three articles in ZERI I POPULLIT. They may increase to 33, while you have published 333. The question of the ZERI I POPULLIT articles is a matter for the AWP Central Committee and not for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. We are stressing for the thousandth time that we have not intervened and will not intervene in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia. We will at all times defend the rights of our Albanian brothers when those rights are trampled on in such a brutal way and are even drowned in blood.

5. As for the fable of Han I Hotit [a border crossing between Albania and Yugoslavia] where our customs officers supposedly tore up a newspaper belonging to a Yugoslav traveller, and the other one concerning a [?dove] released over Tirana on May Day and which then appeared in the sky over Struga, I do not even wish to mention as they are utterly ridiculous.

WRITER ISMAIL KADARE CONDEMNS SERBIAN CHAUVINISM

AU291125 Tirana ATA in English 0910 GMT 29 May 81

["Big-Serb Chauvinism Takes Aim at Albanian Culture"--Article by the Writer Ismail Kadare in the Newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT--ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, May 29 (ATA)--The newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT publishes today an article entitled: "Big-Serb Chauvinism Takes Aim at Albanian Culture".

The article bears the signature of the well-known writer Ismail Kadare. After pointing out the great values of the Albanian culture, literature and arts and after appraising also the culture of other peoples of the Balkans, that of the peoples of Yugoslavia included, he exposes the aim of the feverish campaign undertaken by Serb chauvinism against the Albanian culture, literature and arts.

The author stresses in the article that this campaign has only one aim: To find all the pretexts to cut off every connection between the Albanian culture, which is developing in Albania and that which is developing in Kosovo, to close the doors to Albanian culture, its books and arts, to finally isolate in this way the Albanians of Kosovo from everything being created in Albania.

Follows the text of the article:

In the harsh and nervous climate created by Serb chauvinism in Yugoslavia after the events in Kosovo, a part of the campaign is spearheaded against the Albanian culture, against national literature, arts, heritage in general, which have been proclaimed as instigators of turmoils, revolt and irredentism in Kosovo.

> Large scale and furious attack, in which barbarity and ignorance are vying with one another

The century-long history of Albanian culture knows no other case in which such a large-scale and furious attack is undertaken against it, in which barbarity and ignorance are vying with one another.

It has been spoken ill of all the Albanian culture, old and new. This culture has been considered as bearing the responsibility for the upset of tranquillity in Yugoslavia. It has been described as being overcrowded with historicism, "national romaticism," "outdated ideals and ideas," myths, heroes and idols, which are quite harmful to the unity of the peoples in Yugoslavia (what remained to be said was that it was created deliberately for this). It has been said that all this tradition feeds up chauvinism and irredentism, as it incites such sentiments, according to them negative, as the cult of national sacrifice, that this culture and literature makes the youth of Kosovo "to ask for outdated national ideals," (who are they, Scanderbeg or the Frasheri brothers?), that the "enemy is making use also of parts of national costumes," etc. etc. to come down to the assertion of Dusan Ristic that "the cult of national sacrifice harmed the youth in particular.... But in a number of circumstances, hythologism of the nation leads to the prejudice that all the sacrifices done for the homeland are patriotic." The chairman of the League of the Communists of Serbia, Vlaskalic has gone to such extent as to admit that "the struggle against Albanian national consciousness, in particular among the youth who have been deceived, must not be sectarian and bureaucratic, but it must be permament, daily and argued in a Marxist way."

These and dozens of others like these have covered the pages of the press and the space of Yugoslavia. In a word, as the world press, too, writes: "There were undertaken open attacks against the Albanian cultural and national consciousness... The whole Albanian culture is under attack."

> Impatience to separate the culture which is developing in Kosovo from the culture in Albania, to cut off every connection between them, to denationalize and make the culture, literature and arts in Kosovo suffer from amnesia

The main remark done to this culture, history, literature arts is that they are overcrowded with national consciousness. Hence, this must be reduced in them, that they have too much history, therefore they must also be extricated of it, that they inspire outdated sentiments such as the sacrifices for the homeland, which they must renounce, that they mention "outdated idols," which they must abandon or replace with "new idols," that in the state they are in they are reactionary and dangerous to Yugoslavia, therefore they must be reformed so as to be acceptable.

In brief, this is a culture with a strong national ground and with a strong national memento, but which must lose its identity and weaken its memento, so that it should not be considered reactionary, chauvinist and irredentist. This is the suggestion made to the Albanian culture in general and this invitation, or better to say, this threat, is made to the culture which is created in Kosovo in particular. It is not difficult to understand the impatience to separate the culture which is developing in Kosovo from the culture in Albania, to cut off every connection between them, to denationalize and make the culture, literature and arts of Kosovo suffer from amnesia.

The invitation is as wrong as absurd. Would the people of culture in Kosovo, its writers, historians, scientists and artists accept to do this? Would they accept to lose national conscience, as Vlaskalic quite openly appeals, to forget parts of history so that they should not be accused that they have fallen into historicism; to abandon the "national idols," so that they should not be accused of being "romantic nationalism"; to give up the "national myths," so that they should not be accused of being irredentists; in short, to exchange the memories and images offered by a history and culture that go deep in the millenaries, with the short, 40 year-long memento of the time they are living in Yugoslav community, as someone suggests them? Time will give the answer to these questions, but it will hardly be consolable to the chauvinists.

> The century-long struggles and national dramas neither enraged, nor did they make the Albanian culture inhuman and this is one of its most admirable features

Let us return to the charges made to the Albanian culture as being the inciter of revolts in Kosovo. This is the first time in its history that this culture is charged of big-Albanian chauvinism. This had not been done to it even at the most obscurantist times, at those times when Albanian culture, literature and arts were directly taking part in the struggle for independence and secession of Albania from Ottoman Empire. All sorts of attacks have been spearheaded against Albanian culture, its literature and arts from old and new critics, who have not been benevolent at all towards it. Despite this, the fact that this arsenal has never contained the charges for big-Albanian chauvinism, shows that no such trace has ever been found in it. And the truth is like this. The century long struggles and national dramas neither enraged nor did they make the Albanian culture inhuman and this is one of its most admirable features. No chauvinist message, no hostile spirit towards the other peoples is to be found in this culture. On the contrary, one finds in it in abundance the signals of friendship and understanding. This essential feature of the Albanian culture draws its source in the concept on life, in the philosophy and ethics of the Albanian. Even in the most rigid and primitive codes of the Albanian such as canons, the exaggerated reaction towards the evil, has always been condemned considering this self-containment as a corner stone of the ethic of life: (The blood in people is the same, a life is worth a life). By individualizing the punishment, these codes have condemned and rigorously excluded from the life of the Albanian the collective murders, the massacres and, the more so, genocide. This self-containment of the Albanian people has made them that, even in the chauvinist storms, in the whirl of which they have frequently found themselves, be not engulfed by hysteria, by the rage and by counterposing chauvinism to chauvinism. They have rebuffed rudely, but correctly.

Nice, unconfirmed words, someone might call them, "romantic nationalism." But the proof is to be found in the cultural evidence, the oral art, the works by the writers, philosophers and poets of our country. The team of the Albanian revival, one of the most brilliant in the history of the Balkans, put the exclusion of chauvinism as one of the criteria of its work.

The great poet Naim Frasheri, who was at the center of this pleiade, in order to reconfirm his illuminist ideas and his messages of friendship wrote extracts from his poetical work in the languages of other peoples of the Balkans. His brother, Sami Frasheri clashed, just like all the others, with the Turkish occupier, did his utmost against the Ottoman Empire for the sake of the freedom of Albania. Nevertheless, this did not hinder him, being such a militant, to render his valuable contribution to the culture of the Turkish people with affection, without prejudices and with no kind of chauvinism at all. The Albanian cultural tradition has not at all such outdated idols. On the contrary, it still preserves very necessary idols.

> A criminal academician, like Cubrilovic, the author of the notorious doctrine of genocide against the Albanians of Kosovo, is covered with diplomas and honours in present-day Yugoslavia

Have there been exceptions from this rule? There was one exception, the reactionary and chauvinist poet Gjergj Fishta, and his chauvinism was precisely anti-Serb-Montenegrin. But what did the Albanian culture do with this poet? It always considered him as a tumor and in 1944 new Albania banned his work. Following the year 1948 the relations with Yugoslavia were frequently aggravated. But our culture never asked the anti-Serb chauvinism of Gjergj Fishta for service and it never intends to do so. While a criminal academician, like Cubrilovic, the author of the notorious doctrine of genocide against the Albanians of Kosovo, is covered with diplomas and honours in present Yugoslavia.

> The Albanian culture, literature and arts have always considered the strengthening of national identity as a normal, honest and natural mission of every literature and art in the world. It is precisely this national identity, which was attacked from all the tribunes of Serb chauvinism in Yugoslavia

Socialist culture, literature and arts of the new Albania inherited and further enriched the wonderful tradition of anti-chauvinism. But without being in the slightest chauvinist, the Albanian culture, its literature and arts, based on the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, the party of Labour of Albania and Comrade Enver Hoxha, have always considered the strengthening of national identity as a normal, honest and natural mission, not as something exclusive of Albanian culture, but of every culture, literature and art everywhere in the world, including here also the culture of the other nations of the SFR of Yugoslavia. No one will ever find in the Albanian culture nervousness and worry aroused by the marked national identity of any other culture, of any Balkan people, or attacks against the heroes and idols of the other peoples or the messages transmitted from their art either. For us the laying of stress on national identity has always been a positive phenomenon and, on the contrary, the extinction of this identity, its replacement with cosmopolitanism and denationalisation, have been combatted and described as reactionary, in whatever form they have been manifested.

It is precisely this national identity of Albanian literature, arts and the whole Albanian culture, which was attacked from all the tribunes of Serb chauvinism in Yugoslavia recently. And, the events in Kosovo had to take place that the Albanian culture and literature appear suddenly as chauvinist and incendiary. The author of these lines is one of the writers who has treated of several times in his literary works precisely those motives which now are considered so harmful in Yugoslavia. These works have been published among others, in all the languages of the peoples of the SFR of Yugoslavia and the Yugoslav literary critics have spoken positively and benevolently of them, to which the author has been grateful. It has never found in them any sign of "romantic nationalism" of any irredentist message, as the foreign yesterday and present critic has never found such a thing in the Albanian literature in general. But how is it that this literature dawned suddenly chauvinist and irredentist? But such a process is normal for chauvinism. It is something normal for it, that, just as it infringes the other peoples, to infringe and trample under food even the healthiest opinion of its people, the progressive literary, artistic and philosophical thinking.

> In the climate of "hunting of wizards" the Serb chauvinists will try in vain to find out facts that the writers and artists in Kosovo have incited irrendentism

Just like the whole Albanian culture, the literature and arts that have been created in Kosovo have been pure and they nave never been filled with chauvinist ideas or motives. On the other hand, the writers of the PSR of Albania in the contacts with their fellow comrades of the pen in Kosovo, in scores of articles they have written about the books by the Kosovo writers published in Albania, in the meetings or symposiums organised in Albania, in the meetings or symposiums organised in Albania or Yugoslavia devoted to the development of literature in Kosovo, in the dispatches, studies or interviews, have never and in no case instigated or suggested a tendentious overcharge with national elements, and, less so, with big-Albanian chauvinist and irredentist motives. And this has happened not only because such ideas are alien and unacceptable to our creators themselves, but also because of the respect we have always cherished for the dignity of writers and artists in Kosovo, respect which has never allowed us to manifest even the slightest sign of paternalism toward them.

In the climate of "hunting the wizards," the Serb chauvinists will try in vain to find out facts that the writers and artists in Kosovo have incited irredentism. This will do nothing else, but will increase the comic dose of these demands which is too large by now.

The logic of chauvinism is blind

The logic of chauvinism is blind, it takes the irratation and internal hatred of the chauvinist man for reasonable arguments to convince the others. In their arrogant campaign against Albanian culture the chauvinists did not restrain themselves to issue such theses that the evaluation of the tradition of a nation (it is always about the Albanian nation) harms the other nations. According to them, literature, historiography, and the whole Albanian culture must be very careful, so that they should not irritate, affect and offend the other nations by mentioning Albanian events and outstanding personalities ("outdated idols"). Is it possible, according to this wrong logic, that the Albanians forget that they together with the Greeks are the eldest peoples in the Balkans, because such a thing may offend those who came later on, the Slavs, that in the roots of the Albanian culture, one finds common Homeric and Aeschylus motives and this is not at all exaltation of Albanian nationalists, but a discovery of outstanding European scientists and Albanologists, that the history of the Balkans does not begin in the 14th century, which the Serb chauvinists often like to mention to allegedly prove the usurpation of Kosovo by Albanians, but many centuries before their coming to the peninsula?

Naturally to use the antiquity of your nation and your culture to despite the other nations is something as unworthy as infantile. Each nation and each national culture has its own merits in the great treasure of the world culture, merits which do not depend on their age alone. But on the other hand, if one wants to falsify the truth allegedly in the name of unity and understanding among the nations, this is still more unworthy and infantile.

During the long history of their coexistence, the peoples of the Balkans, in opposition to the chauvinist psychosis instigated by reactionary castes and regimes have always had a good inclination towards one another. This inclination has been proved in the century-long cultural relations, in the exchange of spiritual treasures, legends and rhapsodies of a magnificent beauty. The Albanian people have been neither affected, nor offended by the magnificence of the culture of their millenary neighbour, the Greek people. On the contrary, they have always loved and respected the ancient Greek culture, its personalities, climax and idols. No one in Albania has thought, even at the time of aggravations with the Greek state, that the flourishing of the neighbouring culture would harm Albania. The knowing on a large scale of the Greek literature and art, their study alongside the national literature, testify to this. The Albanian people did not upset this good old custom even for the later neighbours either, the Slavs. No one will be able to find in our writings any evidence against their culture. And such evidences will not be found in the future, too, irrespective of what is happening.

Unscrupulous act of those who have called themselves so far champions of cultural exchanges and ideas

Now it is clear to anyone that the feverish campaign launched against the Albanian culture, literature and arts, has only one aim: To find all the pretexts to cut off every connection between the Albanian culture, which is developing in Albania and that which is developing in Kosovo, to close the doors to the Albanian culture, its books and arts, to finally isolate in this way the Albanians of Kosovo from everything being created in Albania.

The open appeals such as that of Ristic: "We are in need of no book whatsoever from Albania", delirious appeals for detachment, interruption and isolation, are in abundance in the chauvinist press. And this unexemplary act in our century is undertaken by those who have presented themstlves so far as champions of the cultural exchanges and ideas, champions of non-isolation and champions of opening the doors. According to them any kind of culture has the right to infiltrate in Yugoslavia, from every part of the globe, whereas the culture of the century-long neighbour, the Albanian people, alone has not the right to infiltrate there from now on. And the chauvinists think that the Albanians of Kosovo will agree with this.

But the chauvinists forget that there are some things in the world which do not change so easily as they would dream of. The nations and national cultures are connected with the centuries, and the more so those of the Balkans. The Balkan Peninsula is an old place where the national experiences have passed through tragic and magnificent tests simultaneously. The unity of the Albanian nation and culture, one of the most ancient cultures of the Peninsula has also passed through these tests. Therefore. desperate are the attempts being made by the chauvinists, by some Ristics and other worthless people, who making use of some ridiculous meetings, want to change the order of things established by the milleniae.

BRIEFS

LLESHI AT PEOPLE'S COUNCIL SESSION--The Vlore District People's Council met to discuss the fulfillment of the 1980 plan and budget and to set out tasks for the 1981 plan and budget. In addition to council members, the meeting was also attended by the chairmen of the people's councils of the city wards and villages, managers of economic enterprises and agricultural cooperatives and other leading cadres. The meeting was also attended by Haxhi Lleshi, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. Axhem Gjoni, chairman of the Vlore District People's Council Executive Committee, delivered a report on the 1980 plan and budget fulfillment and on the 1981 plan and budget. The council also set out new tasks to raise the organizational and managerial work of the state and economic organs, as well as the role of councilors. The council then approved the 1981 plan and budget. Haxhi Lleshi also addressed the meeting. [Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 24 Apr 81 AU]

AIR FORCE ANNIVERSARY--A solemn meeting was held this afternoon at the Central House of the People's Army on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the founding of the air force. The meeting was attended by servicemen, veterans and other guests. Kadri Hasbiu, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and Minister of People's Defense, was also present, as were Gafur Cuci, AWP Central Committee member; Gaqo Nesho, Tirana District Party Committee secretary; Nesip Ibrahimi, Tirana District People's Council Executive Committee chairman; and others. A speech was delivered on the occasion by serviceman Sali Dibra. A jubilee session was also organized on the occasion, at which one report and six papers were read. [Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 24 Apr 81 AU]

BORDER GUARD ANNIVERSARY--A thematic soiree was organized today at the Central Officers Club of the Ministry of the Interior on the occasion of the 36th anniversary of the founding of the Border Guards Service. The meeting was attended by servicemen, veterans, members of the families of martyrs, young people and others. The meeting was also attended by Minister of Internal Affairs Fecor Shehu and other comrades. An artistic performance was given and an exhibition was also opened on the occasion. [Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 24 Apr 81 AU]

OFFICIALS ADDRESS LOCAL PREELECTION MEETINGS

Bilak Speech at Presov

AU290700 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 26 May 81 p 3

[Election speech by Vasil Bilak, Presidium member and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, delivered at Presov on 25 May]

[Text] In the past 5 years our working people under the leadership of the Communist Party, in implementing the line of the 15th congress, further multiplied the material and intellectual values of socialism. We have thus contributed to better satisfying the needs of our working people.

Despite no insignificant difficulties our national economy has developed successfully. Only incompetent people or those who do not wish us well do not see or do not want to see the results that have been attained.

In the short period of 5 years in little Czechoslovakia--after all, we are not great power--610 million tons of coal and lignite have been extracted; 75 million tons of steel have been melted; more than 50 million tons of grain have been produced; 4,300 megawatts of electrical output have been put into operation; almost 650,000 new apartments have been built; the capacity of day-care centers has risen by 18,000 places and of nursery schools by 220,000 new places; and new schools, hospitals and hundreds of kilometers of roads have been built.

These are concrete and tangible results of conscientious work by millions of our people. Let's get a picture. Let's see quite concretely, for example, what this means where apartments are concerned. Kosice, for instance, has 65,093 habitable apartments.

Presov has 20,548 habitable apartments. This means that in just 5 years, 10 cities the size of Kosice and 30 cities the size of Presov have been built. All that we have achieved in the past period gives us the certainty that the targets which we have planned for the next 5-year period will be successfully fulfilled.

What will we be striving for in the coming years? The 16th congress critically and frankly reviewed the work of the central bodies and lower sectors, the federal and national governments, the state planning commission, ministries, production-economic units and central state and economic bodies.

It is far from my intention to minimize justified criticism, but the struggle for high quality, economic management and labor discipline must be waged everywhere, at every place of work. This applies to everyone.

Let us ask the following questions: How are raw materials and energy being valorized? How are raw materials and energy being valorized? How are working hours being utilized? How are transport and supplies to shops functioning? How are services working in individual regions, districts and towns? Do we not encounter reserves and shortcoming here, too? Isn't there room for improvement here as well?

People will understand objective causes which here or elsewhere create difficulties but they will hardly understand that poor-quality bread is sold in shops, that grocers offer them poor-quality fruit or vegetables, that repair shops return poor-quality work, that shortages of certain goods are at times artificially produced or tolerated, thus giving rise to under-the-counter sales and so forth.

The responsibility for these shortcomings, frequently called trivial faults, which are making our lives poorer and more unpleasant, are borne by district and local bodies, the national committees and leading economic workers, communists and non-party members.

Nobody is excused. We cannot tolerate some people receiving their pay, not for work done, but for being at work; and someone else increasing his living standards at the expense of the honest work of others. We must create a social climate and an atmosphere in which the various loafers, parasites, and racketeers cannot live in peace, where the working collective would denounce every such deed, where those who want to be parasitic in this way would be ashamed to face their own children because such people are not heroes but dishonest people! In this, a great role is played by ideological-political education. It is necessary to wage a struggle in every sphere where such phenomena persist. It is necessary to wage it purposefully and concretely against specific people. It is necessary to fight against this kind of disorder and those who are responsible for it. We shall not master our demanding tasks with people who are afraid of everything, who are avoiding difficulties and who often cover up their own inefficiency by excuses about objective causes.

We must ponder very responsibly the causes of our problems and shortcomings. We must consistently differentiate between objective causes, between the shortcomings of the economic mechanism and between features inherent in the people and their approach to the fulfillment of tasks and responsibilities. No package of measures will help in a place where poor standards of direct management and low demands and responsibility surive; where the standards of checking are low; where some workers do not know what their tasks and responsibilities are and what benefits they will derive from fulfilling them.

Leonid Ilich Brezhnev expressed high appreciation of the CPCZ. Its experience in struggling to build socialism and protect revolutionary achievements, and the principled, businesslike and self-critical course taken by the 16th congress. Today it is important that the congress program become the property of all, that the broad strata of our workers, cooperative farmers and the intelligentsia adopt it as their own, so that it becomes the starting point and foundation of work for the entire party, all state and economic bodies, social organizations and the entire National Front. Herein lies the guarantee that the exacting tasks of the 16th CPCZ Congress will be successfully accomplished.

The program approved by the 16th congress will become the main contents of the work of deputies and bodies to be elected in the elections to national committees, the Slovak and Czech National Councils and the Federal Assembly.

Our people are justly proud of the dignified position held by our fatherland in the world. Nobody has given Czechoslovakia its international prestige as a gift. The credit for the good name of our country in the world and its firm international position belongs to our people, both to their creative work in building socialism and their active support for Czechoslovak foreign policy, which is built on the granite foundations of unbreakable alliance, cooperation and friendship with the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community.

As distinct from the 1970's, the present international situation has become far more complicated owing to the doings of imperialism. Irrespective of the aspirations of the peoples for the consolidation of peace, attempts are being made to liquidate international detente and revive the cold war. The stockpiling of weapons, including the most dangerous, outstrips all efforts to slow down that process. Major negotiations on the limitation of arms and on disarmament have been suspended or halted because of actions by the United States. There is a saying that the greatness of a human being just as the greatness of a nation is revealed, above all, at a time of severe tests. We could say, in the same vein, that the wisom and responsibility of the leading representatives of countries are revealed, above all, in complicated international situations. American statesmen have failed to pass the historical test.

They are neither prepared nor capable of taking account of the continuing revolutionary changes in the world. They refuse to come to terms with the military balance between the United States and the Soviet Union, and they are, moreover, not capable of reconciling themselves with the gradual decline of their political and economic influence within the capitalist grouping. They are reacting in a morbid way to attempts by any country in Latin America, Africa or Asia to set out along a road of genuine independence. So far, no realistic proposals have been forthcoming from the U.S. administration for the solution of matters in dispute. On the contrary, U.S. representatives merely come out with arrogant statements, some of them close to hysteria.

In this whipped-up, anti-Soviet atmosphere, hostile to peace, which the new friends of imperialism--the Chinese hegemonists--are helping to stir up, a new message of peace has resounded from the rostrum of the 26th CPSU Congress. Leonid Ilich Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, has submitted a vast complex of new and constructive proposals for the limitation of arms, for military detente and for the solution of complex international problems by way of negotiation.

These proposals concern nuclear-missile and conventional kinds of weapons and the ground, naval and air forces. They concern the situation in Europe, in the Near and Middle East, in the Far East. They contain both political and military measures.

As all honest citizens of our fatherland, we Czechoslovak communists are proud that Leonid Ilich Brezhnev returned again to certain foreign-policy initiatives in his speech at the 16th CPCZ Congress, which was followed by the world public with great attention, and that he had explained them in detail. This particularly applies to the problem of limiting nuclear missile weapons in Europe.

All the proposals of the 26th CPSU Congress have one single objective, one common endeavor: to do everything to free the peoples from the threat of nuclear war and to preserve peace on our planet. For all these reasons the 16th CPCZ Congress identified itself with the proposals presented by Comrade Brezhnev and gave them its unanimous support. We see in these proposals not only a path toward solving the most pressing world problems but we also consider them a concentrated expression of the vital interests of all Czechoslovak people in international relations. As a country with an important geographical position in central Europe, we together with our allies, are exceptionally concerned, above all, that the existing approximate military balance in Europe not be upset, because that balance is the foundation of the relative stability of the European Continent.

Every one of the postwar American presidents wanted to enter history with some doctrine or other. Truman dreamed up the doctrine on containing and rolling back communism, Eisenhower came out with the doctrine on a retaliatory nuclear blow, Kennedy declared the doctrine of flexible reaction, Carter bragged about the doctrine of limited nuclear war--had it materialized, and had tens of millions of people perished in the process, the self-appointed advocate of human rights would probably not have minded at all.

All these doctrines testify to the vain effort of the strongest great power of the imperialist world to slow the postwar renewal and advance of the Soviet Union; to prevent the creation and consolidation of the world socialist community; to direct the liberation movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America onto tracks that are acceptable to imperialism; and to halt the growth of the ideas of communism and progress in the world.

Likewise, the new American President Reagan does not intend to learn from the history of his predecessor's terms in office. His doctrine is a symbiosis of all preceding doctrines.

It proceeds from the assumption that "in the next 20 years the program of the day will include revolutions, civil wars, ethnic and border conflicts and normally declared wars," as was recently written by two American officers. Reagan's government is counting on preparing for wars with conventional weapons in Central America and in various places in Africa and the Arab peninsula, and again in Southeast Asia. It is hoping for the situation in Europe to become acute. It is predicting the extinction of communism and unlimited U.S. rule. It is hard to say whether it will become a greater communist-flayer than Hitler was; but even the U.S. President should not forget the fate of those people who had based their policy on threats against the Soviet Union.

The imperialists do not recognize the free will of peoples or the laws that govern history. The people's liberation struggle is driving them to insanity; they are calling it "terrorism" and they see "the hand of Moscow" behind it.

At the same time the U.S. Government is openly supporting all terrorist governments and crimes against socialist states, communists and progressive forces. Fascist Germany has robbed the Czechoslovak people of their gold treasure. Not only has the United States been refusing to return it to Czechoslovakia these 35 years; it now wants to pass a law on the sales of the Czechoslovak gold treasure. What else can it be called other than state terrorism against Czechoslovakia? Should it really happen, it would be one of the most inglorious laws and acts of a U.S. Government. The United States will become neither richer, nor stronger; it will become more wretched and ridiculous. Many of the peoples and individuals who had deposted their valuables in U.S. banks will have to realize what could happen to them.

Dear comrades, imperialism would not be imperialism if it did not attempt to exploit the difficult political and economic crisis in Poland which, after all, imperialism itself has helped to bring into being. Through various means, imperialism is supporting counter-revolutionary forces in Poland and encourages them in their fight against the socialist system and against the unity of the countries of the socialist community. Bourgeois papers do not make any secret of the hope that anticommunist and anti-Soviet forces in Solidarity will succeed in transforming it into a kind of Christian-social party which, with their support, will wage a fight against the PZPR.

The Baltimore SUN published a letter by a worker: "Does it not seem peculiar to you," he asked, "that rich American businessmen are not stinting eulogies for Polish 'Solidarity' and at the same time spending millions of dollars to prevent American workers from rallying in truly free and independent trade unions?" Our stance on developments in Poland was clearly expressed by Comrade Husak at the 16th CPCZ Congress.

Understandably, it does not suit the reactionary circles in the world that Czechoslovakia is pointing out from principled positions that the foundations of socialism in Poland are under threat, that our journalists are pointing their finger at the enemies of Socialist Poland. We are even receiving constant warnings from the West against, as they say, interfering in Polish internal developments. What phariseeism on the part of imperialism! The United States is quite frankly proclaiming its right to decide on what should happen in such distant areas as the Middle East, in Southeast Asia, southern Africa and Western Europe; and it is even foisting its services as referee on what is right for Poland and what is not. And the CSSR should have no right to adopt a stand on developments in Poland, even through the issue concerns a fraternal state to which it is bound by common socialist goals?

Deplorably, the counterrevolutionary forces are doing everything possible to prevent the PZPR from consolidating the disrupted economy and the entire political system in the country.

Almost nothing else is talked about but the mistakes perpetrated by the former PZPR leadership. The present party leadership is not denying those mistakes. Poland has accrued large debts; it has lived off its substance. Attention was not devoted to the party and to its action ability. Ideological upbringing was neglected. The party and the entire society are fever-stricken. Solidarity has only one remedy for all this: Open a vein and bathe in cold water. That is no way to rectify mistakes. Even despite the obvious shortcomings, only inveterate enemies of socialism can deny objective reality, that there were not just mistakes in Poland. From the ashes and ruins of World War II, a strong People's Poland emerged, with a modern industry. Poland's national independence is ensured within the covenant of the fraternal countries of the socialist community, as it had never before been ensured in the history of the Polish state. In enhancing the country's economic potential and improving its living standards under the PZPR's leadership, great successes had been achieved.

But what can the counterrevolutionary forces in Poland brag about? In the course of 9 months they have driven Poland, with "Solidarity's" assistance, to the very verge of economic catastrophe and cast it into deep political insecurity. Even if a turn of events were to materialize immediately, it would take many years to redeem the havoc caused since last summer by strikes and many other subversive actions. Each and every month will have to be paid for by at least 1 year of honest work. Sooner or later the people will grasp who had swindled them. The "Solidarity" leaders are presenting themselves as the protectors of working people. To evoke disruption and insecurity, to weaken the party, the socialist state, the ties of alliance with the Soviet Union and the socialist countries contradicts the vital interests of the workers class, the interests of the people. It is a great crime perpetrated on the Polish people, a crime which history will never forgive.

We again wish to tell imperialism and all enemies of progress: No one will tear Poland out of the socialist community. Poland is not alone; it has loyal friends in the socialist countries and it can rely upon them.

The 16th CPCZ Congress produced convincing proof that we are marching along the correct path of building an advanced socialist society. On this path we are harvesting good yields from our work. The years to come will not be as easy as the past years. On the contrary, this is so for many reasons, but it has always been like that. Just as it is natural that the demands and requirements of the people are rising, it is also natural that the tasks are growing. The 16th congress laid down a demanding program of economic and social development for the Seventh 5-Year Plan and that plan expresses the fundamental interests and needs of our people. In order to implement our intentions and our plans, in order to translate our endeavor into practical results, we need peace. The protection of peace is the most important duty of mankind at present.

Neither capitalism nor socialism can prove its superiority or merits by war.

But peace, just like the well-being of the people, will not come on its own. It is necessary to fight for peace. In our conditions this can be done through our responsible and selfless work to strengthen the economic and political authority of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, the socialist community and our friendship with the Soviet Union.

For centuries our peoples were forced to struggle for freedom and social justice. But only through the liberation of our fatherland by the Soviet Army, through the victory of the working people in Febrauary 1948 and through the policy of firm friendship and alliance with the Soviet Union were prerequisites established for the true independence of the Czechoslovak state, for building the socialist system, for the secure life of our people.

That is why our relationship towards the Soviet Union can never become a time-serving issue. It is a fateful issue for our nations and nationalities. Our country can fulfill its vital interests and longings only in a firm union with the Soviet Union. Our people have convinced themselves of that in good times and bad. They see the guarantee of their revolutionary achievements in deepening comprehensive cooperation with the Soviet Union and also with other countries of the socialist community. That is why we support the Soviet Union's foreign policy, with our minds and our hearts, because it consistently serves peace, consolidates the freedom of our own countries and of other countries, and promotes the victory of humanism over inhumanity, and of progress over reaction.

Jakes Speech at Kladno

AU3O1630 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 21 May 81 p 3

["From a Preelection Speech by Comrade Milos Jakes," CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and secretary, at a meeting with voters in Kladno on 20 May]

[Text] We are addressing you as National Front candidates for deputy, to render account of the past period and to seek your support in the elections and in implementing the National Front's election program--a program that is made up of the conclusions of the 16th CPCZ Congress, the tasks contained in the Main Guidelines for Economic and Social Development in the CSSR 1981-1985, and the National Front's election programs in regions, districts, towns and villages, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member Milos Jakes said in his speech.

Even though only a short period of time has elapsed since the 16th CPCZ Congress, we can state that the program approved by the congress is encountering the great support of the entire National Front, its organs and organizations and the absolute majority of our people. That is the case because it is a program of further building an advanced socialist society, a program of work for the prosperity of our homeland and people's happiness and a program of struggle for strengthening peace.

The fact that the congress conclusions encounter such inerest among the citizens is not accidental. A few says ago we commemorated the 60th anniversary of the day when the workers class--inspired by October and Lenin--founded its revolutionary party, the CPCZ. The party's path and work in those 60 years are a testimony of service to the working people of our country, of service to our nations. People have convinced themselves that in the CPCZ's policy words are not inconsistent with deeds, that the party has no other interest but people's well-being.

The results we achieved in the past period were assessed by the 16th CPCZ Congress and by the session of the National Front Central Committee. They are visible at every step, and are manifested in the life of every citizen, community, district, in the life of the whole country. What we regard as most important is that peace has been preserved, due to the efforts especially of the Soviet Union, the countries of the socialist community and peace-loving forces in the world. That made it possible for us to carry on our peaceful work and to fulfill the programs of economic and social development.

In contrast to capitalist countries, where the consequences of inflation and growing world prices are being transferred to the shoulders of the working people, where prices and unemployment are soaring and the monopolies are increasing their profits, we--as all other socialist countries--reject such a policy and seek solutions that are in accord with the working people's interests and do not limit their social and existential security.

If we want to ensure further social and economic development, there is no other way but to overcome weaknesses, assert effectiveness and cost efficiency and improve the quality of work and each employee's performance. As Comrade G. Husak noted in his report at the 16th CPCZ Congress, "the achievement of this turnabout is a task facing us with all due urgency."

We have realistic prerequisites to achieve the socicoeconomic targets set by the 16th CPCZ Congress--a strong economic base, a highly qualified workers class and a broad scientific-research base. We have faithful friends and allies: the socialist countries headed by the USSR. Their economic strength and international prestige are growing year by year and our cooperation with them is being intensified.

Everything will depend on our ability to make use of our possibilities, great hidden potentials and resources, because the growth in national income by 14 percent must be ensured practically without any additional demands for raw and other materials or with only minimal increments.

The conditions for that can be created only by asserting great thrift, economy and quality of labor at all places, by speeding up the application of results of science and technology, by broadly developing and utilizing working people's initiative and by bringing about structural changes in industry, especially by way of our economy's more intensive integration in the international socialist division of labor, particularly with the USSR.

Ensuring fuels and metals for the national economy is among the priority tasks, and the Kladno miners and metallurgists play an irreplaceable role in it.

Also, the collection of scrap metal, glass, paper and other waste materials is of great significance in covering the national economy's needs, also from the viewpoint of efficiency and conserving fuel and raw materials. That is why national committees and enterprises must devote great attention to this.

An irreplaceable role in increasing people's living standards and satisfying their needs is played by food. That is why the development of agriculture and the food industry was in the foreground of our attention in the past period. The basic course was determined by the effort to implement the long-term strategic line aimed at further increasing the degree of our self-sufficiency in this area, by the effort to base all further improvements in food supplies on our own resources. This line will be pursued in the future as well. It requires that we raise the intensity of agricultural production, that we raise per hectare and livestock yields. A key to solving that task is to speed up the development of plant production so that it satisfies the needs of animal production.

With its average annual per capita consumption of 85 kilograms of meat, 277 liters of milk and dairy products and 315 eggs, Czechoslovakia holds one of the foremost places among European economically advanced countries. It is our goal, a goal that was approved by the 16th CPCZ Congress, to maintain the high level of meat consumption, to improve the assortment of meat products, to raise the consumption and expand the variety of dairy products and to increase the consumption of fruits and vegetables. We want the quality, structure and durability of foodstuffs to ensure rational and healthy nutrition, and must see to it that the low prices of food products do not result in their waste.

Animal production will be developed on the basis of domestic fodder resources. That is why such a great emphasis is being placed on priority development of raising cattle and on the production and use of bulk fodder. In the first place, it is necessary to take better care in all agricultural enterprises in ensuring a sufficient basis of fodder crops, as regards their quantity as well as--even more important--their quality; to reduce the still high losses occurring during the harvest and in conserving and storing fodder; and to handle fodder more economically than heretofore.

Here, as the 16th CPCZ Congress stressed, are the greatest untapped potentials in all agriculture, reserves that are also the easiest to mobilize. At the same time, it is necessary to overcome more speedily the great unjustified differences in the results of agricultural enterprises working under comparable conditions.

An important prerequisite for intensifying plant production is care for the land fund, its amelioration and its full utilization. We have not yet succeeded in significantly reducing the shrinkage of agricultural land. In the course of the Sixth 5-Year Plan, its area in the CSSR decreased by 185,000 hectares, equivalent to the territory of two large districts. We can no longer stand idly by and watch agricultural land decrease. We must protect, in the spirit of the existing law, and intensively utilize this social wealth, this irreplaceable production asset. That is not only the farmers' concern but is also up to the supraenterprise managerial bodies and particularly to national committees as the bodies of state power and administration.

Soil that does not lend itself to large-scale production must be offered for use to gardeners and small-scale breeders among cooperative farmers, workers, clerks, and old-age pensioners. Contractual fattening, production on private plots and deliveries of fruits and vegetables must be expanded. This is a very positive activity that enhances self-supply and enriches the domestic market and its diversification. This is how this issue must be understood and comprehensively supported.

The policy of increasing the degree of self-sufficiency by intensifying agricultural production will be supported in the Seventh 5-Year Plan in the form of reasonable capital construction and deliveries of technology, chemical products and other needs. Capital construction projects must focus on the priorities; that is, land amelioration, the fodder crops production program, cattle breeding, cultivation of fruits and vegetables and the reduction of all kinds of losses.

Nowadays, agricultural production is no longer a matter dependent merely on farmers and natural conditions but is increasingly influenced by science and industrial deliveries, by agriculture's mechanization and chemicalization. That is a consequence of its industrialization, which reflects the further enhancement of ties linking workers and farmers.

Conditions are being created to ensure gradually particularly machinery and spare parts, the shortage of which is subject to justified criticism. It is important, however, to effectively utilize this machinery, which usually is not inexpensive, to handle and maintain it properly. We also envisage improved deliveries of industrial fertilizer, protective agents and biofactors as an important part of intensifying agricultural production.

In connection with the development of agriculture, we will also ensure the food industry's development. The food industry's deliveries to the market are to increase 1.8 percent by 1985. The food industry's basic task is to ensure the utmost utilization of agricultural products, to increase the durability of products and to make a more expedient use of all secondary resources of food production.

In the interest of facilitating the work of women, a higher volume of ready-to-eat and pre-cooked dishes will be ensured. The appropriate attention will also be devoted to ensuring the production of good quality baby food. We also strive to increase the deliveries of packaged food, especially meat and meat products.

The exacting tasks in agriculture make it necessary to take up more resolutely the issue of concentration and specialization, and the application of scientific findings, and to improve further organizational and managerial work. Everyone working in the sector of agriculture and food industry bears great responsibility for ensuring the high level of people's nourishment.

Among the important tasks that are part of the economic and social development for the years to come is environmental protection. Our party and socialist society consider those issues an integral part of living standards. That is why we seek the solution of problems that have arisen, especially as a consequence of industrial development and mining. What matters especially is the preservation of clean air, pure water and our nature's values.

That is why we must tighten up and make more rigid control over the observance of legal provisions and norms by enterprises, organizations and individuals.

Within the framework of their legal power, national committees must see to it, more than heretofore, that there is no indiscipline or slovenly approach by enterprises and citizens within the territory they administer. Greater use must be made of noninvestment measures--it is necessary to demand order in the surroundings of enterprises, houses, construction sites, and production and agricultural facilities; to prevent, for example, the leakage of residues of manure and fertilizer, of silage juices and the like. It must be ensured that refuse is laid aside on refuse dumps that have been earmarked for that purpose and are being properly maintained. At the same time, it is necessary to see to it that all waste materials that lend themselves to recycling are returned to the production process. Last but not least, a contribution to the embellishment of our cities and villages will also be made by more greenery and by maintaining cleanliness and order. Appreciation must be expressed for the fact that most national committees include this in the election programs of the National Front.

A contribution to ensuring the further development of the national economy and the set tasks, and to asserting intensification of the national economy, thrift, quality and growth of all-social productivity of labor is to be made by the Set of Measures for Improving the System of Planned Management of the National Economy. It will not be easy to make the new approaches gain ground, and it will not be possible to avoid conflicts in that process. But we must undergo them if we want to advance.

It is necessary to create an atmosphere in which everyone will think about ways of improving his work and making it more productive and economical, about ways of producing more from fewer resources. It is necessary to assert the merit principle in the remuneration system, not only among workers but also among managers, technicians and administrative employees.

The implementation of the improved system requires greater activity, flexibility, a healthy enterprising spirit and resolution on the part of the managerial personnel, and a deployment of people according to their ability to fulfill the tasks entrusted to them. Party and social organizations and national committees and deputies must support those who are not afraid of responsibility, require that tasks are fulfilled on time and with good quality, and assert exactingness and all-social interests.

Also, national committees which supervise important areas of our economy and services must spend financial and material resources--in keeping with the demand of effectiveness--more economically and expediently, including capital investment projects and activities within the framework of the Z-project [community self-help]. They must solve on a priority basis those tasks that contribute to a comprehensive socioeconomic development of the territory under their administration, and to satisfying the citizens' needs and interests in harmony with all-social tasks.

There will be no lack of work. But it will be useful work that will surely be supported and understood by the entire National Front and all citizens, enterprises and united agricultural farms in the district. This will require an improvement of the overall political, organizational and educational work with the aim of explaining to the people the tasks and ways of our further development and enlisting them for active support and participation in their implementation.

We will deepen socialist democracy, support the work of social and interest organizations, strive to make everyone understand that great rights are inseparable from duties toward society, see to discipline and public order and see to further improving the living environment and towns' and villages' outward appearance. All that makes it necessary to further improve the work of national committees and tighten up their ties with the people, to which we, deputies of all levels, want to contribute. It will be necessary to wage a more active struggle against all shortcomings and malfeasance, against the desire to live well without working, to enhance people's participation in control, to overcome formalism in work and bureaucratic approaches to people, to be responsive to their suggestions and ideas and to deal with them without procrastination. We expect that as deputies of our representative system we will enjoy our citizens' full support in this struggle.

We reject the concept of democracy and freedom in which decision making in the representative bodies is not done by the working people but by millionaires, in which man does not even have the right to work, in which there is one basic freedom--the freedom of the rich to exploit the poor, in which the degree of social recognition is measures only in terms of money, in which terrorism and criminal gangs are flourishing.

Member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium Milos Jakes spoke further about some international political issues. In that context he stressed that fulfilling the program we have set ourselves, ensuring people's happy life, is unthinkable without the preservation of peace.

The strength and unity of the countries of the socialist community and the USSR's policy of peace, he said, are its important guarantee.

This is a policy that proceeds from our interests and comes from our hearts. That is why we support it fully and will do everything we can to contribute to its materialization. We regard life in peace as man's basic right; but it is also the prerequisite for further building the advanced socialist society and for fulfilling the goals which we adopted at the 16th CPCZ Congress, in the name of our people's prosperity, and which we made the National Front's election program.

STROUGAL DEPARTS FOR OFFICIAL VISIT TO HUNGARY

LD010746 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0730 GMT 1 Jun 81

[Text] Federal Premier Lubomir Strougal left for Hungary today where he will pay a friendly working visit. The visit is taking place at the invitation of Gyorgy Lazar, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic.

Comrade Lubomir Strougal was seen off at Ruzyne Airport by Federal Deputy Premiers Vaclav Hula, Josef Korcak, Karol Laco, Matej Lucan and Jindrich Zahradnik; Minister of National Defense Army Gen Martin Dzur, Federal Interior Minister Jaromir Obzina, and other officials.

CPCZ DELEGATION ATTENDS KAMPUCHEAN PARTY CONGRESS

For reportage on the participation of the CPCZ delegation, led by Miroslav Capka, chairman of the CPCZ Central Committee Control and Auditing Commission, in the Fourth Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party Congress, see the Kampuchea section of the 26 May Asia & Pacific DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

STROUGAL CONGRATULATES NEW FRENCH PREMIER

AU272047 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 23 May 81 p 1

[CTK report: "Congratulations to France"]

[Text] Prague, 22 May (CTK)--CSSR Premier Lubomir Strougal has sent a congratulatory telegram to Pierre Mauroy, premier of the French Republic's Government, on the occasion of his appointment.

PROCEEDINGS OF 10TH KISZ CONGRESS 29-31 MAY

Officials Attending

LD300824 Budapest MTI in English 0600 GMT 30 May 81

[Text] Budapest, 29 May (MTI)--The 10th Congress of the Communist Youth Union of Hungary (KISZ) opened in Budapest Friday. Seated in the presidium are Janos Kadar, first secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party Central Committee; Gyorgy Lazar, chairman of the Council of Ministers; Karoly Nemeth, secretary of the HSWP Central Committee; Laszlo Marothy, first secretary of the HSWP Budapest Committee; Lajos Mehes, minister of industry--members of the HSWP Political Committee--as well as several members of the HSWP Central Committee, the Presidential Council and the government, and the leaders of over 40 fraternal foreign youth organizations. The World Federation of Democratic Youth is represented in the presidium by Vice-President Ranajit Guha, and the International Student Union by President Miroslav Stepan.

Section Debates

LD302230 Budapest MTI in English 1729 GMT 30 May 81

[Text] Budapest, 30 May (MTI)--On Saturday, the second day, the Tenth KISZ Congress continued with debates in six sections. The section of young workers concentrated on problems in the solving of which the KISZ can play a role. Those making contributions said that in the years to come there will be a marked need for modern-minded, talented, well-qualified and courageous managers in the technical and economic posts.

In the section of students of institutions of higher learning it was stressed in several contributions: In the future the KISZ should better strive not to let measures [be] adopted which make it difficult for college-leavers to start their career. The KISZ organs at universities and colleges should seek organizational forms that better facilitiate the political guidance of the KISZ and enable all students to be adequately represented in the democratic forums.

In another section the issue of the safeguarding of school interests was raised. True, interest safeguarding committees have been set up throughout the country, rights and use these bodies for that purpose. [sentence as received]

Several contributions covered the importance of patriotic education, in which an important role is to be played not only by the armed services but also the family, school education, the teachers and the social organizations.

Kadar Address

LD302120 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 30 May 81

[Speech by Janos Kadar, first secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, on 29 May at 10th KISZ Congress in Budapest--recorded]

[Text] Dear comrades! First, I fulfill an honorable duty and one I gladly accepted: I convey to you the greetings and good wishes of the MSZMP Central Committee. [applause] I greet the delegates and guests of the 10th Congress of the Communist Youth League. On behalf of our party's Central Committee I greet in particular our esteemed guests of the Lenin Komsomol and the foreign movements, sister organizations, who have honored the congress and come here. [applause]

On the occasion of this significant day of Hungarian youth and Hungarian society, I would like to greet the whole membership of the Communst Youth League, our country's youth. The Central Committee's report which was delivered by Comrade Fejti, the submitted draft resolutions, and the speeches from the floor which have so far been heard give a good basis for the work of the congress.

I am certain that this 10th Congress will fulfill its calling, will give a new impetus to the work of the Communist Youth League, to Hungarian youth, and with this will contribute to the further progress of our people who are building socialism. With these things in mind, I would like to speak about a few issues connected with the congress' agenda.

The international situation, after the very good and useful era of detente, has been aggravated in the last 2 or 3 years. Thus at present in the international situation there simultaneously exist the results achieved during the year of detente and also certain new tensions. If we think about the deeper underlying causes of this international situation and about the tension that has appeared in recent times, then certainly one of its important causes is the wide-scale, deep and general crisis with which the capitalist system is grappling.

Capitalism worldwide is in a difficult situation, and also in an economic, financial, [word indistinct] political and leadership crisis. The capitalist countries, even the most developed ones, are tormented by this crisis. There is a standstill in the tempo of their development. The life of society is accompanied by inflation, unemployment and other negative phenomena. This finds expression in the downfall of governments and regimes, in the form of military takeovers of power, and recently in fascist coup attempts and also in attacks--attacks in which capitalism shows its real face to the world because it cannot show anything else.

I think that the West is the main cause of why, in various parts of the world in recent years, the number of crisis centers has not diminished. The earlier crisis centers remain: the Middle East--think of the latest events in Lebanon; South Africa--the fascist, racist regime; Latin America--burning in a fever; and Asia. The capitalists have made five attempts to solve these problems in their own way and to their own advantage. They have been unable to solve these problems. The capitalists, grappling with the irreconcilable contradictions of their own social system and grappling with their insoluble problems, seek a capitalist way out of this situation for themselves and they have believed that they will find it in increasing armament, in acquiring arms superiority, and then in the form of dictates given out to the world.

(?Not these). We can prove this by citing the many facts of daily politics. The outward manifestations of the way in which this imperialism searches for a way out are anti-Sovietism, anticommunism, the condemnation of the peoples' strivings for freedom, the stepping up of the struggle against all the forces of progress and the attack against peace, all of which have intensified and broadened in recent times.

I may say that the aggressive circles of imperialism also carry out daily operative work, where, with words, with political means, with economic means, and what is more even with military means, they incite and embolden: They attack the situation, life and destiny of Indochina's peoples; they continue the undeclared war against Afghanistan; the support for South Africa's racist regime; the everyday aggressive work against the Latin American peoples struggling for their freedom, against the Nicaraguan revolution and against the Salvadoran patriots struggling for their freedom, and others.

In addition to this they are carrying on the work, often covertly, obliquely and indirectly, which is today directed against the basic socialist system and achievements of Poland. Well, this is the kind of opponent we have; this is the nature of those who oppose us and this is the nature of their intentions.

What can be added to this? According to our profound conviction--and on the basis of an analysis of the real factors of the situation--we may state that these plans of the imperialists, this new-fangled vituperation and the ultimate aim of this campaign are all bound to fail completely. This is a dangerous (?situation), and it conceals dangers in itself. However, it is bound to fail.

The imperialists are daydreaming that they may once again become the masters of the world as they once were. However, this is no longer possible because the world has changed. As we know, historically, the transformation of the world and the ending of the world's mastery by the imperialists got underway with the triumph of the Great October Socialist Revolution. This triumph has been proved worthy of life, and the Soviet power which was brought into existence and the first socialist country of the world has been able to withstand all the tests they have had to face and the country has become gigantic, strong and unbeatable. The socialist system of society has become a world system and those who follow the news will have noticed that a whole series of newly liberated countries have declared their intention over the last decade of following the path of socialism and finding prosperity for the people.

This is the way in which the world has changed and everyone must be able to see that in accordance with reality. The fundamental factors of strength in world politics have been altered in favor of the forces of progress and peace. The struggle must be carried on and there is now a need for vigilance and defense capability on the part of the peoples and for activity by all the supporters of progress and peace.

The achievements of the years of detente have remained with us and they must be safeguarded. These are significant new factors in world politics. The years of detente were the outcome of the fact that apart from the forces of progress and the sincere supporters of peace, there were also among bourgeois politicians and responsible factors those who understood the current development of the world situation and the point that at the time of the existence of different social systems there could be no alternative path to the peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems. Mankind can have no other long-term perspectives than peace and social progress. In this situation--and we are saying this to ourselves--there is a need for greater activity by all men who are supporters of progress and peace in the world. We must unite the forces of peace so that we can save mankind from this new danger. There is also a need for the continued assertion of political sobriety and responsibility among the leaders of the bourgeois countries, the same kind of sobriety and sense of responsibility which guides the responsible factors of the socialist countries all the time.

Our policy remains unchanged in this situation. We continue to profess that among the big international issues--and there are many important questions on the agenda--the first and more important from the point of view of the interests of the whole of mankind and of all the peoples of the world is the prevention of the possibility of a new world war, which exists in theory. We must put an obstacle in its way, consolidate peace and extend and intensify development.

The socialist countries for their part are pursuing an honest and correct policy and they believe that there should be equal security at a lower level of armaments. This has been the essence of our policy for a great many years and it will remain so in the future, too. This was given a magnificent expression at the recently held 26th CPSU Congress in the report presented by our friend, Comrade Brezhnev. At the suggestion of the Central Committee and with the full support of the congress the wide-ranging proposals for talks and the position of the USSR were declared, and this position applies to all questions in dispute that involve preventing the danger of war.

It must also be said that amid the imperialist terminology and propaganda that have become more strident in recent times we were impressed by and proud of the calm, self-confident, sober and moderate tone used in all these issues by the CPSU Congress and which was reiterated and extended during Comrade Brezhnev's recent visit to Georgia.

I believe that the widest public opinion, both in the socialist and in the capitalist worlds, will see that with regard to the issues affecting the fundamental interest of mankind--peace--it is now the turn of the United States, the NATO countries and the leading factors of the capitalist world to take steps and make a response that is worthy of the Soviet proposals.

We, the Hungarian People's Republic, our party, government and our public opinion warmly welcomed and fully support these Soviet proposals. We intend to work and struggle for the realization of these proposals together with the Warsaw Pact countries and with all the forces of progress and all peace-loving forces. It is in this spirit that our representatives take a stand everywhere where negotiations are currently under way: within the framework of the organizations of the United Nations, within the framework of the Madrid conference which is currently in session, at the Vienna talks and in bilateral relations. Our party and government carry out their international activities in this spirit and in the interests of these objectives and I believe that we may say with complete justification that Hungarian public opinion and the people fully support these foreign policy aims. We may add to this that we are certain that we can prevent a new world war, preserve peace and ensure that detente will become established in the international situation.

It must be said that at present this is not very discernible and not very visible in the Westerners' standpoints and their work. The Westerners do not want to recognize the real situation. They have gone so far as to want to rechristen as terrorism all the progressive forces' [word indistinct] and also the peoples' strivings for their national freedom. Well, it is perfectly clear that this is an absurdity and this cannot be further maintained in this way.

Every day they make all sorts of statements. They stubbornly insist on the concept of the West European deployment of American missiles and they evade negotiations. The President of the United States has made a statement in which he said that he intends to talk with the Soviet Union, but from a position of strength.

Well, this is founded on a misunderstanding of the real situation in the world. Nobody can talk with the Soviet Union and the socialist countries from a position of strength. And one cannot dictate. Here, one can only sit down, talk and agree that equality of rights, joint responsibility and the intention to agree are starting points. This is necessary and sooner or later it must and will happen.

The imperialists should also recognize that there is no people, and least of all the peoples of the socialist countries and the peoples of the Soviet Union, who would renounce the achievements they have attained or make concessions about them. In the same way, they must also understand that it is an indisputable right of people that whoever lives under oppression and exploitation strives for liberation, and where there is national oppression, colonial system, [words indistinct] those nations strive for national freedom. The peoples will not rest until they become the masters of their own fate, in possession of the riches of their own homeland.

This is world development. This is the only path which mankind can travel in times to come, (?its straight) path. There is no other path. [applause]

I would also like to say a few words about the domestic political situation, about some of the issues of our domestic situation. First, about the political situation. We use an expression which is widely known: We say that our domestic political situation is solid and balanced. It is so. The party and the people are united and they work together. There is a socialist national unity which is strengthening in Hungary. The bases of socialist society--and I will immediately add the political and economic bases--are solid.

The achievements in the economic and cultural work of construction are considerable. These are the chief characteristics of Hungary's domestic political situation which, for that matter, our friends also know about and understand and what is more, our opponents, to a certain extent, also know and understand. This is the situation in our country.

I would like to continue by saying that our party has not the slightest intention of idealizing our situation. We are not in the habit of idealizing anything. We have not said that what we have is absolute and realized perfection or that we have no faults or that we have no weaknesses. We have plenty of faults and weaknesses. We have been used to discussing these with complete openness because it is the practice of our party to face reality and not an imagined world when it discusses what to do and how to go on.

I do not now want to list these weak points of our situation and of our work. It is even unnecessary, for in fact our party's 12th congress disclosed them in full reality, and this is what happens in our country during every large, high-ranking consultation. We have disclosed these things, our problems, and also the sort of plans we are now able to propose. You will remember that our party's 12th congress, as well as the Sixth 5-Year Plan, in fact announced a fairly severe program for the people because we had to start out from a real situation. This severe program means that the rate of development has been lowered. There are gigantic tasks in the field of improving the production structure, economic work, in the field of cultural work, in the field of mobilizing the human factor, and in every field.

On the question of living standards our party's congress said openly and honestly, and this is also stated in our Sixth 5-Year Plan, which has been given the force of law, that at present we can only say to the country's people, responsibly and with honor, that the central task now is to maintain and strengthen the attained standard of living. In the next few years we must intensify our efforts for a new, further rise and raising of living standards. That is the kind of program we have proclaimed. I say this now without detailing the tasks because the tasks have been (?worked out). What is to be done? In the next few years there will be a need for more effective economic work, good scientific work, public education, cultural activity, and the mobilization of the human factor because we are living in conditions of a complex international situation and under international economic conditions which are not favorable to us.

Our party said this bravely, openly and honestly. So we do not idealize our circumstances. We have set ourselves, our society and our people tasks which the situation demands. But when we say that our domestic political situation is solid, then I also allude consciously and, what is more, proudly to the fact that we have made a great advance in understanding the real situation and that our people understand the real situation. It is in this knowledge that the program proclaimed at the 12th congress won the support of the widest public opinion.

This solid domestic political situation in Hungary has several probative facts: There was the reception of the 12th congress, for example. Yet there have been five big domestic political events in barely over one year: the party congress, the national elections, the trade union congress, the Patriotic People's Front congress, and this is the fifth. Well, we can speak about four of them. These big social demonstrations also proved that in Hungary the political situation is solid and that our people know the real situation and talk about it. Even those who spoke here today, [words indistinct] the young people also spoke about the real situation and the real tasks with complete responsibility and confidently.

The strength of the domestic political situation is very important because this is our most important principle. Of course, in order to work we need many things: machines and equipment in industry and agriculture, railroad vehicles, means of communication, investment capital, technological development, and many other things.

But our greatest strength lies in policy and socialist national unity. The further strengthening of these is the number one task of economic and also of cultural construction.

The latest experiences show that socialism can be successfully built in a country and that progress can be made only if the forces in society are lead by a revolutionary avant garde which is guided by scientific theory and which is capable of giving the country a real program, and in a country where there is people's power, a strong people's power, which in the given country is able to look after socialist legality and also its own protection. There is a need for a society where the masses support this (?party) and this people's power.

Apart from this, the fourth chief factor is that we must work. We do not have to find new structures for distribution. (?There is not much to distribute) but we have as many structures for distribution already [words indistinct] as we could want. The burden of distributing the goods is something that everybody always undertakes gladly; our party's Central Committee also likes to distribute goods, or, so to speak, give something and so does the trade union, of course. What is more, I think that even the Communist Youth League no doubt distributes goods and gives something to some people. So do enterprise leaders, of course. But there is a small error here; we can distribute only what we have produced, what exists. We can distribute only those economic and cultural goods which the people have produced.

Thus there is a need for a strong party that leads well, a strong people's power and mass support--and we have to work. [applause]

I can declare that these factors are in existence in the Hungarian People's Republic, that they are in operation and that they will remain and gain in strength. Such are the conditions. In spite of this, and partly as a result of our own creation and partly on the basis of international influences, somewhat more critical views have been expressed in a number of fields in recent years.

I would like to join those who have spoken before me, starting with Comrade Fejti, who have said that real problems must be put on the agenda without any attempt at concealment and explaining away. What needs to be corrected has got to be corrected in practice. This is our relationship to mistakes, shortcomings and to certain issues connected with our lagging behind in development. This is the case and in this respect we welcome any kind of criticism and debate that are in the interests of the cause and that take us further ahead.

Apart from this, we may also experience--and these are partly of our own creation and partly formed on the basis of international influences--pessimistic views in certain places and in certain fields. Even the choice of subject may on occasion (?reflect this). I do not know whether you remember but there was, as far as I know--although I did not listen to it--a series of talks on the radio on the subject of death. Well, after these programs were transmitted--and by the way I did not listen to them [laughter]--the talks were published and the editors of the series sent the transcripts to me. I am not in a state of war with their intentions, and indeed the problem of death is a very interesting subject from a scientific, medical, psychological and philosophical point of view. I even expressed my thanks for the publication. However, I wanted to write something about it but I had neither time nor patience for it, so I can now make up for it. [laughter] I wanted to add that, as far as I am concerned, I have dealt with the problems of life throughout my own life. [laughter and applause]

However, there really are people who prepare for death all through their lives. Nevertheless, the majority of people are not like this; they are preparing for life. Our people, too, prepare for life and for progress.

It is useful to say that amid these moods that emerge in some places it is also worthwhile to talk about our achievements. This does not amount to sweeping out of sight our shortcomings. On the contrary, we must be aware of what we have achieved on the path that our people have followed now for quite a long time. We have historic achievements. In the course of 36 years our people have overcome a historic backwardness, even though of these 36 years some 3 years were spent on wrangling and struggle as to the nature of power and on the nature of who should have power in this country and other years were spent in the course of other shortcomings.

We could perhaps say that what the development of capitalism failed to achieve in Hungary has been made up for and the backwardness of a century has been left behind. Furthermore, we have achieved even more than that on the path of socialist development in the course of 36 years. We should openly admit that there have not been too many calm years.

We have another historic achievement. The reputation of the Hungarian people and of the Hungarian nation has been restored on the international level. [applause] The Hungarian people have joined the peoples that are in the vanguard and they are building the future, that is to say, a secure future within the framework of a socialist social system. These are our historic achievements that the older generation are aware of and bear in mind, while the young are not well-acquainted with them. However, we ask them to think about these on occasions because what may appear to be the most natural thing in the world would have appeared as a pipe dream a few decades ago for us who, at that time, were young workers of a similar age. These kinds of things are quite natural today but we would not have believed that we would ever see them. We must bear this in mind.

Well, I have talked about the problems and we have enough tasks within the framework of the activities of the whole of society and all the people. It must be said that labor productivity is not satisfactory. When I say that it is not satisfactory I mean that in a general sense, and this applies to all the major fields of activity; and I would say that it is not adequate in political work, in economic work and in cultural work and it is not even satisfactory in the field of the development of consciousness. When I say that it is unsatisfactory I mean by this in another sense that the results achieved so far are not sufficient for realizing what we still need and that they are also inadquate in comparison with the opportunities available to us. This applies to political work, economic work, cultural construction work, and to the development of consciousness. I do not want to talk about these in detail. I would just like to add--as I am a representative here of a youth group that is otherwise called the leadership--that the leadership has its shortcomings. It has its own, real shortcomings and among these I consider to be the clumsiness and slowness of our decision-making system, bureaucratic characteristics that we have accumulated in various fields, the blurring over of responsibility and all the mistakes arising out of this, and the insufficient utilization of the means available to us. These are what I would call the shortcomings of the leadership. However, I do not understand by this only the Central Committee but also the leaders of the smallest units and I would include them as well in this group. We must learn to bring these mistakes to an end. It is possible to (?end) the shortcomings to a significant degree.

I would say that these shortcomings now press heavily upon us because socialist construction has reached the stage in Hungary after which further development is very difficult to achieve. At the time when the foundations (?were laid) it was possible both to plan for and realize a 15 percent rate of annual development in industrial production and this applied to other, similar things. However, when we reach a certain stage of development--and this applies to other fields as well--then we must (?work) harder for the results. To use a comparison from sport: As you know it is easy for anyone to improve on their results at the beginning of their sporting careers. However, later on a lot of sweat goes into achieving improvements of even thousandths of a second. This is somewhat similar in the development of society as well.

So the first thing is that we have reached a certain level beyond which it is necessary to struggle for any further progress, perhaps even harder and more than before. The other problem is that we are working amid complicated international conditions and unfavorable international economic circumstances. As a result, our existing shortcomings and weaknesses exert a pressure on us.

I am convinced, and this is also the belief of the party Central Committee, that during the past 2 years our approach toward work has been a little better; we set slightly more rigorous requirements for ourselves--it is possible to work better--and certain results already exist and this is what we must continue to pursue. We must face up to the problems, search for their solutions and work hard and in a disciplined manner to overcome our shortcomings and to eliminate our faults because we have plans, great plans. The 12th congress pointed the path for 5 years and we have even longer-term plans which are contained in the party program statement and in the Sixth 5-Year Plan as well. These are great, good and important plans.

So far the approach and the start have been encouraging. The results are still at a very early stage but, let us say, the approach has been encouraging. We are familiar with the results of the work during 1980 and the start of this year; in the first few months and during 1980 and the first 4 months of this year we accomplished certain achievements. Without speaking in an irresponsible spirit here, it is a factor that during this year and these months our foreign trade balance has been in equilibrium, something that we could not have said in many previous years. It is not as yet the balance of payments which is in equilibrium but the balance of trade and there is hope that we shall be able to work and that the results of rational development will manifest themselves in many areas which we must further develop.

We have managed so far to maintain our standard of living. It is possible that things have developed in such a way--because international economic conditions have further deteriorated in the last 1 and 1/2 years--that we have to work a little harder in order to maintain it, and this is a program which we take with deadly seriousness: the maintenance and strengthening of our standard of living.

We have also made advances in the field of agriculture. This is worthy of mention because all of us are becoming weathermen: We constantly gaze at the sky to see whether it is raining or not. Just think of last year, the way everything was late, nature was late, the process of ripening, work and everything piled up and on top of it all we had an early winter. The devil has seen snow up to our knees on 3 November in Hungary in recent years. A long and bitter winter is behind us. I want to say here that even though one can always complain about the weather, the work done by the farmers, the state farms, the cooperatives, and the agricultural workers in the autumn and at the present time as well deserves every acknowledgement. They have overcome all the delays by hard and energetic work, and in a temporal sense agriculture is not in advance and is going better than in other years at the same time. The (?lesson is) that the right approach and hard work bring results in all those matters which depend on us.

Thus, as I have said, our present task--on a societywide scale--is to improve in our political work, in the field of economic production, in the utilization of the resources of science and education and to better mobilize and utilize the cultural factors, the factor of consciousness, and the human factors.

As I have mentioned, there is distribution in a different context: it is necessary to implement, perhaps better than before, the principle of remuneration in line with performance. No other path is possible. We know very well that the overwhelming majority of our people work well and honorably in industry, agriculture, transport and services--in every field. But we also know that this is not a 100 percent truth; not everyone works like this as yet.

Just as it usually happens on a long march, there are those who drag and push the cart and there are those who sit on it and let themselves be carried. Well, this cannot be done like this; people must receive their share of material goods on the basis of their performance.

Beyond this, we must realize socialist justice and the requirements of socialist morality better and more effectively on a societywide scale. When we talk of morality, you must not think of sexology--it is not the task of the MSZMP to concern itself with that subject--but of socialist morality, whose first tenet is that our society is a society of work and that it is necessary to work if one wants to get on, because this is what the people are doing.

As regards our domestic political endeavors, we have a good program, an appropriate and good policy: the building of the developed socialist society. This is something that we must carry out successfully, and we must defend peace. Our program is socialism and peace. We must use all our strength so that the homeland can develop. I do not want to cite Latin quotations here: You might misunderstand and of course you might not be familiar with them--I still know one or two--but it is necessary to have faith and to work and the results will not fail to materialize. Both faith and work are necessary.

Let me say something, with your permission, about KISZ. KISZ is the youth organization of the party; this is, indeed, the case. I would say straight away that it functions in this capacity and fulfills this (?role). I mention this because it is the new generation of the party. We have 850,000 members in KISZ--naturally this is a round figure--and we also have a Pioneers movement numbering 1 million members and it is right to mention this. These latter are very important cadres and they are as yet uncorrupted. [applause] KISZ gets its new members from among the ranks of the Pioneers and the party gets them from KISZ. It must be said that although there are other (?sources) providing new members in existence, namely the movement of socialist brigades, the Workers' Guard and I am also thinking of the People's Front, nevertheless the present situation is such that three-quarters of the new party members are accepted by the party on the basis of KISZ recommendations, even though not all of these are KISZ members. This is a responsible and very great (?task). This is in opeation and it is a good thing. I think that the true situation is also expressed by the fact that KISZ is the mass organization of the young and it fulfills its function in this sense as well. This includes (?their) politics, the representation of their interests and the fulfillment of its function as a mass organization. It must be said today it joins together the majority of socially active young people.

I believe that what changes and improvements need to be made in particular sectors are now better known [words indistinct]. In this case, too, great attention must be paid to the KISZ organization of working youth. This naturally applies to all (?strata) and the reason I am talking about working youth is because (?we should recall) that the revolutionary vanguard professes and puts into practice the program of the working class and therefore new members must be provided by working youth. For my own part, I have never resorted to trickery when it has come to work. After all, there are many kinds of workers among them. However, to a great extent, this is the basis without which the party cannot be further built in a healthy way.

I shall say something about advice and education. We have had arguments with KISZ members who have had good luck; after the turning-point of 1956 we assumed the name of Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party while the youth organization became known as the Communist Youth League. There were historical reasons for this, such as the fact that a party cannot change its name once every forthnight. Moreover, when it came to work, we wanted to establish a youth league, elite to the point where hardly any young people were being accepted as members. We have had debates and cleared up these issues and now there is, indeed, a need for a more extensive membership in KISZ among the young than at present, which would be a healthy development because not too many young people are involved, [words indistinct] that communists should be brought up.

I would like to speak about one aspect of this issue. At a certain period here in Hungary--in the initial stage of socialist construction--there was an error in the work (?of the center), which we described in terms of there being too much pride among communists. This became manifest in all those who were party members and who could call themselves communists. This was a mistake and there was no need for this kind of thing either in the party or anywhere else or in the education of communists [word indistinct]. So, certain views have had to be cleared up and it has had to be explained that when someone is born, he comes into this world without party membership and without a membership card and that he is outside the party and that it is only at a later stage that he becomes a communist. When KISZ strives to educate communists and to educate new members it must bear in mind that there is one particular characteristic of a communist. This is not the only trait but it must be the fundamental one: namely, that a communist devotes his life to the idea of socialism and communism. Moreover, the primary and most important considerations for him are the interests and happiness of the community, that is to say, the prosperity of the working class and the large community of the nation.

I must mention among our social problems and shortcomings at this point that, at the same time, the socialist way of thinking is widespread among the public, that socialist consciousness is also widespread and devotion is also widespread in our country. The socialist brigade movement and its results are very characteristic of this and socialist labor competition and its results are also characteristic of this. I could mention a large number of other examples. At the same time, parallel to this and in the same years, there has also been an increase, not without social reasons, in the trend toward individual self-enrichment, selfishness and egoism. This is not good and this should not be the case with a communist. One of the main characteristics of a communist is the primacy of the idea of the community and he subordinates his own personal problems, way of life, style of living and (?aims) in life to this. This is what young people, whom we really want to become communists, must be educated for. This is what differentiates a communist and it must be so. I hope that KISZ will be able to (?assert) this spirit in the future, too.

Now something about youth in general. Living conditions, the living standards of young people, are a part of the people's living conditions and living standards. We maintain that in Hungary our standard of living is not low and that living conditions are not bad. And I will say right now that there are many people interested in the Hungarian standard of living and living conditions. Well, friends come and go by the hundreds of thousands, and they look, and they say unanimously: These Hungarians do not live all that badly. So, then, I think that young people do not live so badly, either. On the whole they are all right.

There are problems. We know that. You know that the party congress dealt with these. So let us say that it is worth mentioning two problems here: There is the housing problem--this is a social problem--and there is the problem of starting one's career. This is on the agenda. The party keeps on its agenda both these problems, [word indistinct] our society and our government also, and we intend to improve the situation. But in the case of housing, do not forget something that is contained in your material: 57 percent of the many homes under construction, of council homes, are given to young married couples, young families, and 200,000 young families moved into new homes in 5 years.

It is a just demand that the situation here should improve and I greet the KISZ intention to try to make its own initiatives. I also proposed that the KISZ should not make this, alone, its subject matter; KISZ is not capable of something like that; but initiatives, ideas, proposals [words indistinct]. As far as I know I always used to say.... [Kadar doesn't say what he says he always used to say]. Just how it is today, that I do not know all that precisely, though today I have more than once sat up because I heard them say: boys-- and that includes me [laughter], (?they were speaking to me). [sentence as heard]

But I do not know all that well the way of thinking of today's young people, not as well as do young people themselves of course. But at that time the question was that a young man's life did not immediately begin in a two-room apartment with full amenities, not even when he was starting a family. But then the young person's desire was--and perhaps it is the same even now--that however small, or I do not know what [the home presumably] if it was not quite what he needed, he could go to his own [home] as a young married person. Well, that is what we must promote above all in this way or that: that the young married couple should have a home. This is a just claim.

But, in any case, I will also say, comrades, that these just claims must also be correctly understood. I observe that young men would like an independent home with amenities, a car, would like to travel abroad, and good God knows what else they would like. These are the just and usual demands of young men. But let them not forget that no society can give these things in one sweep. Well, it is impossible, comrades, that we should undertake to guarantee for a 20-year-old or 21-year-old a home, and also say: Here is a car, sit in it brother [words indistinct]. [Laughter and applause] It cannot be done that way. [thunderous applause] He will have to do something himself, too. Well, I will finish. We bear the just demands in mind and the party, the government leadership and our society, too, work for their better solution.

But on the whole, I think that the present situation of our youth is acceptable and that it has a secure and fine future. This is the situation of Hungarian youth (?in Hungary). Its moral and political condition, in my opinion, is--how do you say?--acceptable. Satisfactory? Satisfactory, let us say it [words indistinct]. The vast majority of the appropriate age-group studies and works. This is the elemental demand of youth. They take part in the socialist worker competition, in the socialist brigade movement and in the voluntary building camps. Here, mention has already been made about patronage and undertakings which are very important aids in building socialism. Let us name only Paks in our country, though there are many examples of good undertakings.

One is absolutely astonished; Hungarian workers are working in so many places, building here and there. One is completely astonished. Their work is praised to high heaven; I wish we could praise their work at home so highly. [laughter]

They also carry out their defense obligations and this is something that they must do; it is very important that they should do so because in other respects this is not primarily in the hands of young people. The defense forces of the socialist countries must be kept at a suitable level, and the necessary steps must be taken because a world in which the capitalists attain superiority and force their own dictates on humanity must not come about. Humanity knows what capitalism and imperialism are capable of, and we must and we do play our part in this field so that our defense is at the appropriate level. For this it is necessary that we should educate young people in a spirit in which they can play their part in the interests of defense and should know and understand that the more our defensive capabilities are in order, the more we can prevent any adventurous hopes and temptations on the part of the imperialists. This is also part of the service of peace, and the defense of peace.

Thus,as regards the general state of our youth, its material, moral and political state, this is something that will be expressed in detail at this congress. I shall not go into further details. I would say, because I believe in understatement, that the general moral and political state of our youth is one that could yet improve but let it never be any worse. [applause]

Let me speak very briefly about the tasks. I would say that in the case of KISZ, ideological-political education should perhaps be given pride of place--the propagation of our scientific world view, Marxism-Leninism, and the implementation of the policy of the party in its own sphere.

There used to be frequent debates at one time in PARTEPITES [the party's organizational journal] on the strengths of the party, how many members it had, and so on. We consider in relation to the party, too, that the party is strong, not altogether independently from the number of members, but primarily where the party's policy is valid. This might also be true of youth work in a sense and this is what we are facilitating so that the party's policy should be suitably realized on every issue and everywhere.

Regarding politics, it is necessary to take a more resolute political stand.

Now, in order to act honorably, I shall first of all accept something on behalf of the adults. When there are certain debates here and there, after all, it was stated both in the report and the chairman's opening speech that there had been sharp and lively debates at some places on the congress (?material). [sentence as heard] It is understandable that there have been such debates. We were observing a genuine phenomenon; at least this is how I understood it. There were a good many years when we used to refer rather frequently to the correct policy of the party. It was true that the party's policy met and still meets with very wide-ranging agreement. However, this has an unfavorable effect on adults; they have got out of the habit of debating. They have got out of the habit of keeping a sharp ear and if and when they meet some confused view, that then it is necessary to point this out and to oppose it. At these sharp debates which have been mentioned there were present at times 20 or 30 adults, party members and public functionaries and responsible people; they sat there, kept looking on, were surprised and then went home afterward. Thus the adults must take a more resolute stand. The same is true of young people--taking our usual practice of differentiation into consideration and observing it, of course.

It is necessary to debate against confused views and we must use arguments. It must be said that there are all sorts among these views. There are some in which the views of the Western world--alien, hostile views--are expressed through various stations and transmission lines. Well, in the case of young people there is a double problem because even those who express them cannot recognize the hostile views, and those who hear them cannot, either. Well, we must help them; make them recognize that these are hostile views, antisocialist, anticommunist views, contrary to commonsense, and so on. We must learn how to take a resolute stand, and to debate, argue and convince.

So I have told them: Just tell me when there is the prospect of a good debate and let us go and argue. They go and they themselves will be surprised how active they can be when they feel that it is necessary, instead of just nodding off. This is what is needed.

As for studying, again it is necessary to educate them a little. I think we must somehow explain to young people that they study for themselves. Everyday I hear of cases where children go crazy and a teenage child tells his father, I will not go on studying for your sake. Well, it is possible that the father is very ambitious, perhaps overambitious, but in the final analysis the child does not study for his father's sake. Nor does he study for the sake of the party or for KISZ but primarily for himself. Study is socially necessary and useful, but nonetheless the child studies for himself.

The same is true for work. Of course, one works for the sake of society but one also works for oneself; one builds one's own future as well. The same is true of national defense. One protects one's own achievements, life and future by the honorable fulfillment on one's defense obligations.

In the field of ideological and moral education, let me say immediately that the family has a tremendous part to play. Then comes school, and finally adult society, including the people, the party and KISZ as well, of course. The education role of the family is indispensable and so is that of school.

When he comes into the world a person is a creature of nature and nothing more. It is the influence of society which makes him or her into a human being, which teaches him the norms of human conduct. He would not learn even to speak by himself if he were alone in the world. In the first place there are the parents. In the second place there are the teachers. In the third place there is KISZ, the party and adult society, the older generation. People must be educated in social consciousness, patriotism and internationalism and to value work and to want to work. We must educate young people in political and moral demands and courage. Let the young person be in a certain sense in these matters--and I am not afraid of using this term--an idealist and let him fight for the pure realization of the ideals. Later he will discover in any case that this is a rather difficult matter, something that one must struggle for over a long period, but, nonetheless, the young person should be an idealist.

There are the tools of education, of course ideological education; the other is the force of example. For example, if someone does not live and act in line with his words, even if what he says is correct, his words will lack credibility. The final tool of education, and one that is extremely important, is to present young people with tasks and to have faith in them. In young people there is an ambition to demonstrate that they are capable of doing something and it is possible to build on this ambition. They are capable of doing something as well; in the final analysis they can do more than the previous generation because their basic education is better, they have a wider store of knowledge and they posses greater knowledge to begin with.

Well, I shall now conclude. I would like to conclude by saying that I wish the 10th Congress of KISZ successful work. I believe that the 10th party congress provided an impetus for the work. The national elections went well, and we had a good trade union congress, a good Patriotic People's Front congress; I think that the KISZ congress as well will be one that on the one hand will demonstrate what the domestic situation in our country is like and also what our youth is like. Those whom I have seen and heard so far have been such that I would be content if they were the national average. This is not possible but it presents a good picture and it is one that we need.

KISZ is a joint undertaking and the party organizations also play a part in the work of KISZ; they have helped the work of KISZ up to now and they will continue to do so, and it is necessary that they should do so. Our state also helps and supports the noble endeavors of KISZ and the same is true of adult society and the older generation as well. It is a great satisfaction for them when they see that a worthy generation is going to take their place.

I am present here in an official capacity; I can say on behalf of the Central Committee--I expect Comrade Lazar would agree with me--that the party and the government will in the future support the worthy endeavors of KISZ and Hungarian youth, and the same is true of the older generation. I ask the functionaries and members of the Communist Youth League and the young people to work honorably and to have faith in socialism and peace, two strong ideals. These two ideals will be victorious; the Hungarian people live and work under the aegis of these ideals and the Hungarian people, and together with the today's youth, will be victorious and will flourish under the aegis of socialism and peace. With this thought I wish you all the best. [Prolonged applause]

Fejti Elected Secretary

LD311456 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1300 GMT 31 May 81

[Excerpt] At the closed session of the KISZ congress the new Central Committee and Secretariat have been elected. The first secretary once again is Gyorgy Fejti.

REPORTAGE ON CARDINAL WYSZYNSKI FUNERAL CEREMONIES

Vatican Delegation Arrives

LD301820 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 30 May 81

[Text] This afternoon Stanislaw Kania, PZPR Central Committee first secretary, received in the Sejm building Cardinal Agostino Casaroli, Vatican state secretary, who arrived in Warsaw at the head of the Holy See delegation to attend the funeral of Cardinal Stefan Wyszynski.

Czyrek, U.S. Delegation Meet

LD302316 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2130 GMT 30 May 81

[Text] Minister of Foreign Affairs Jozef Czyrek had quite a long talk today with the U.S. delegation to the funeral ceremonies for the primate of Poland. U.S. Ambassador to Poland Francis Meehan also participated in the talk.

Officials at Funeral

LD311423 [Editorial Report] Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish at 1355 GMT on 31 May brings a live relay of the funeral services for the primate of Poland, Cardinal Stefan Wyszynski. The announcer begins by describing the Holy Mass in progress at Seminary Church in Warsaw and notes that the following government officials among others are present: Henryk Jablonski, Kasimierz Barcikowski, Jerzy Ozdowski, Mieczyslaw Rakowski, Jozef Czyrek, Jerzy Kuberski, Edward Kowalczyk and Stefan Ignar. Representing NSZZ Solidarity are Lech Walesa and Zbigniew Bujak.

Macharski Delivers Pope's Homily

LD311838 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1546 GMT 31 May 81

[Speech containing homily written by Pope John Paul II, delivered by Cardinal Franciszek Macharski at the funeral ceremony for Cardinal Wyszynski in Warsaw's Victory Square--live]

[Excerpts] May Jesus Christ be praised! I let the holy father, John Paul II, use my voice, even more, my heart, so that he may deliver the papal homily here at the funeral of the primate of Poland. Listen to the holy father's homily:

Dear brothers and sisters! To the whole church which is on Polish soil, a church so very dear to me; to its pastors and faithful; to all whom the death of the primate of Poland Cardinal Stefan Wyszynski, metropolitan archbishop of Gniezno and Warsaw, filled with pain and sadness; to you who now in the hour of his funeral in the undaunted city surround that coffin with love and prayer; who have gathered together to restore his steadfast soul, strong in God, to the heavenly Father; and to place his wearied body in the Polish soil of Warsaw, stained with blood, so that at the coming of Christ it may be clothed in indestructibility and immortality.

To all of you I want to address these brief words; I write them from the deepest need of heart and faith. I cannot bear this testimony as I would like. I trust that God will restore my strength and give me a suitable opportunity to carry out this [word indistinct] as I feel. I would like you to know that in this hour of mourning, this hour of sadness and pain but also of still greater hope and trust, I wanted to be with you and personally perform for the primate the last offices.

God has decreed otherwise. May His holy name be blessed. I join with you in suffering and prayer, in the acceptance of God's will and in hope.

Present among you on my behalf is a delegation of the Holy See, which is led by Secretary of State Cardinal Agostino Casaroli. Allow me at the present moment only to say what I said in Warsaw Cathedral during my pilgramage to the homeland:

The primate has become a special keystone. A keystone is what creates a dome and reflects the strength of the building's foundation. The primate reflects the strength of the foundations of the church, which is Jesus Christ. On him his own strength depends. The primate has been teaching for 30 or so years [words indistinct], one can most fully reflect the strength of that foundation, which is Christ, and that through Mary one can most effectively become a keystone of the church. This is what the life and service of the primate of Poland teaches. He is the keystone of the Warsaw Church and is the keystone of the whole church in Poland. On this his providential mission has rested for more than 30 years. I wish to express this at the beginning of my pilgrimage, here in the capital of Poland, and I wish to thank the Holy Trinity for this, together with the whole church and nation.

It is a painful matter, and everyone can feel this, that the moment has arrived when some of the words have to be uttered in the past tense. The more so because God has summoned him to Himself at a time when, in human interpretation, he was so necessary to the church, to the country and to the nation. The church in Poland accepts--and so do I--the unfathomed decisions of providence with a faith which engenders peace, every kind of peace, confidence and serenity of spirit. Our sufferings we link with the sacrifice of Christ so as to contribute to the martyrdom of Christ for the sake of His body which is the church. Together with this sacrifice we present our sufferings in the Holy Spirit to the eternal Father. Christ's mother whose heart was pierced by the sword of pain, our Lady of Czestochowa with the wounded face, will not abandon us.

Dear brothers and sisters, with reference to the church's venerated liturgical tradition which, in a way, extends the Catholic funeral ceremonies over a period of 30 days, I beg you: May the mourning after the death of the much regretted primate of the millenium last for precisely that period in the Polish Church. May these 30 days be a period of special prayers, peace, recollection and reflection.

Let us pray, let us pray one for another. Commend to God the soul of the primate of Poland, Cardinal Stefan Wyszynski. Pray for our country, for the Polish Church, for the church as a whole, for the world as a whole. Pay for me, the unworthy servant of Christ and his visible deputy. Make the objects of your prayers also the objects of your reflection and of a profound nationwide mediation. Make the memory of the never-to-be-forgotten Primate of Poland Cardinal Stefan Wyszynski a special subject of such meditation, together with his person, his teaching and his part in such a difficult period of our history. Make all this a subject of your meditation and shoulder the great and difficult cause--the legacy of more than 1,000 years of history, upon which he, Cardinal Stefan Wyszynski, the primate of Poland and a good shepherd, stamped his lasting and indelible imprint. Let this cause be adopted with the utmost responsibility by the pastors of the church; let it be adopted by the clergy, priests and religious communities, as well as by the faithful of all ages and of all professions. Let it be adopted by the young people; let it be adopted by the whole church and the whole nation, by each one of you in his own way, just as God and his own conscience dictates to him. Adopt this cause and bear it into the future. May your pain turn into hope.

Good Jesus, our Lord, give him eternal rest. Hail, oh Queen of Poland, Mother of Mercy, our life, our joy and our hope! We appeal to you: Turn your merciful gaze upon us! Show him, who has trusted you so completely, who was your particular servant, the late primate of Poland, and show us, Jesus, the hallowed fruit of Your womb. I bless you: in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit.

[Dated] Rome, the Holy See, 28 May 1981, the Feast of Ascension. [Signed] John Paul II, the pope.

I have laid aside the homily prepared for today by one of the bishops, a homily in which this Polish bishop [presumably himself] wanted to say at the great primate's coffin to you, to the world, to the church and to Poland: We do not give up. Nothing of the primate's legacy will perish.

I must tell you, brothers and sisters, that I look with great reverence on this freedom-loving people of Warsaw, the freedom-loving people of Poland, the people who for the 4th day now have been paying homage to their great primate. You have given magnificent proof, brothers and sisters, to God and to others of what is considered really great in Poland today, what constitutes the permanent values here [words indistinct]. May homage be paid to you; may respect be paid to the people of Warsaw and to the whole Polish nation, for what you have done for the primate. What you have done you have also done for us, for Poland and for the whole world to see.

Cardinal Wsyzynski's Will

LD312022 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1831 GMT 31 May 81

["Excerpts" of Polish Cardinal Wyszynski's last will and testament read at the 31 May funeral ceremony in Warsaw's St John's Cathedral by Bishop Jerzy Modzelewski--live]

[Text] Cardinal Stefan Wsyzynski, the primate of Poland, spoke in the Cathedral of St John in Warsaw many times. With his words, he invigorated the religious spirit and stirred the conscience of the nation. During the funeral of a great primate, he will speak to us in the words of his testament:

"Conscious of the fact that the hour has come when I must return to the Father from whom I received my life on earth, I make a confession of my full readiness and obedience as a child of God in the form of my testament.

"Working for the church of Christ I must confess that I have always received complete understanding, in difficult situations for the church in Poland, from the Holy Father Pious XII, John XXII and Paul VI. I never heard even the slightest reproach or critical assessment of our work from them; instead, I have always been encouraged by the respect and affection with which the popes treated the church in Poland, the bishops, the priests and myself. I know that they always trusted the Polish church, even though they were unable to fulfill some of our demands. I am writing this because I know that there exists in Poland an entire library of political publications which distort the true picture of reality.

"I have served the church in Poland according to my best understanding of its situation and needs. I wanted to defend the church against atheism, against social hatred and against dissoluteness. I regard it as a favor granted to me that I was able [words indistinct] to prepare the nation for the great novena, the Jasna Gora vows and the act of dedicating the nation to the Mother of God--in a maternal captivity of love--for another millenium. I fervently wish that the Polish nation remains faithful to these obligations.

"With regard to my country, I maintain full respect and love. Convinced of the importance of social changes, I have served the working classes for many years, especially through cultural and educational work in the spirit of the social encyclicals of the popes. I am of the opinion that despite the changes in the political system, this work has not yet been achieved.

"However, I trust that the sound spirit of human personality will be victorious in this struggle for the dignity and freedom of mankind. I never lost faith that many people implementing the so-called reconstruction were acting in good faith, or were compelled by the existence of political forces independent from them.

"I consider it a grace that I was able to give witness to the truth as a political prisoner during my 3 years of imprisonment and that I have escaped the hatred of my fellow countrymen who discharge power in the state. Aware of wrongs inflicted on me, I forgive them from the bottom of my heart for all the slanders with which they have honored me.

"I humble myself at the feet of the Mother of God, the Lady of Jasna Gora, whom I have served. As a prisoner dedicated to her in the prison in Stoczek Warminski, I beg most humbly the refuge of sinners to be my champion at the throne of Holy Trinity. Amen."

These and other thoughts contained in the testament will evoke in us a religious and a national reflection for many years to come.

KANIA, WRONSKI ATTEND URSUS FACTORY PARTY MEETING

LD292026 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 29 May 81

[Text] In the Ursus mechanical plant, a party report-back and election conference is being held with the participation of Stanislaw Kania, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee. Also present are Zygmunt Wronski, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and worker in the foundry section at the Ursus factory, and Stanislaw Kociolek, first secretary of the Warsaw City party committee.

A total of 137 delegates, representing nearly 3,000 members of the factory party organization, will elect 2 delegates to the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress and also delegates to the Warsaw conference and the district conference, together with a new factory committee.

It emerges from the report of the outgoing executive that the Ursus mechanical plant will produce 55,000 tractors this year. This will be 2,500 less than in the previous year. There are many reasons for this, mainly difficulties with raw materials and with power supplies. The current plans are being realized by all possible means, and that obviously costs extra.

Especially difficult work conditions prevail in the old factory, where many problems of a social nature or in the area of safety and work hygiene have been awaiting a solution for years. The fundamental problem bothering the entire workforce is the future of Ursus. The most important thing is that licensed production will be continued. As is known, enormous resources are involved in the investment project.

Jerzy (Janicki), former first secretary of the works committee, said in his speech that Ursus has lived through many crises during its career. However, these were not the fault of the people working here, but stemmed from causes completely independent of them. Every manifestation of new technical thinking was torpedoed. This was because the development of Ursus represented nothing more than a slogan for taking money from the factory's account by individuals not connected with the production of tractors.

The party organization of Ursus, from the very first moments of the implementation of the licences purchased--that is, from 1974 onwards--drew attention to the irregularities that were occurring. Unfortunately, the then central authorities ignored the voice of these experts. Meanwhile, Polish agriculture is waiting for good, cheap tractors, and industry must fulfill these demands.

The Ursus session is still continuing.

Kania Addresses Conference

LD301540 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0516 GMT 30 May 81

[Text] The report-back and election conference ended tonight at the Ursus mechanical factory. Stanislaw Kania, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee; Zygmunt Wronski, Politburo member and worker in the Ursus factory foundry section; and Stanislaw Kociolek, first secretary of the Warsaw party committee, took part in the conference.

A total of 137 delegates representing the factory party organization which numbers almost 3,000, elected 2 of their delegates to the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress. Delegates to the Warsaw report-back and election conference and to the district conference have also been elected. A new factory PZPR committee has been appointed.

During the deliberations those attending the conference resolutely condemned the resolutions adopted by the Katowice party forum.

The most important thing, however, was the discussion, which was sharp, specific and full of concern for the fate of the country and the future of Ursus. Many questions were addressed directly to Comrade Kania because the situation at the Ursus mechanical works is severe. This year the workforce will produce 55,000 tractors, which is 2,500 less than last year. This figure includes a small number of tractors produced under license, but in the final analysis the new Ursus factory is without doubt the largest investment project. It has swallowed up more than Z500 billion and masses of foreign currency. It was precisely this year that the Ursus factory was supposed to reach full production capacity as regards Massey-Ferguson-Perkins tractors. The factory party organization--right from the time when the license was purchased--has been pointing out numerous irregulatities.

Unfortunately, the then central authorities ignored the voices of the experts. Moreover, it was stated, every spurt of technical thinking by the workforce here was brutally stifled. This resulted from the fact that the development of Ursus represented nothing more than a slogan for taking money on the factory's account by individuals not connected with the production of tractors.

Thus Ursus has on many occasions in its career lived through crises which did not stem from faults of the people working here but from causes absolutely independent of them. Now, in order to complete this gigantic investment project, another 2 billion foreign exchange zloty must be invested. Certain sections are almost ready, the engine production shop among them. Supplies to agriculture of crankshafts and other parts for the Ursus-T-320 tractor will also be improved. These matters were discussed in detail.

Stanislaw Kania, first secretary of the part Central Committee, rose to speak during the discussion. Among other things, he said:

[Begin Kania recording] Esteemed comrades, I have been meaning to come here to you for a long time. It is a good thing that I have managed to come (?before) the party congress. I have not come here to you with a prepared speech. I deliver a lot of speeches, perhaps even too many, although everywhere it is necessary to express one's attitude, one's stance, on matters which are touched on at meetings. Above all, I wanted to hear your opinions, your proposals and your criticism--of which there are plenty here, after all. [Words indistinct] and your voice--you yourselves are fully aware of this fact [words indistinct]. And because you are the workforce of a large, very large enterprise, because you are the party organization of a large workforce and also because of the importance of Ursus in the national economy, and of the factory and whole conglomerate is, as is well known, exceptional. [sentence as heard] It will not be possible to solve the difficult problems of food supply and the difficult problems of our agriculture without the smooth functioning of Ursus. One could put it like this: Things cannot be good in our agriculture and perhaps on an even broader scale in the country, particularly on this (?foodstuff) front, if things are bad here. This designates your role and your responsibility to the whole country.

I have already attended many gatherings, meetings and precongress conferences. Every one [word indistinct] passionate discussions which are taking place in our party with particular intensity at a time when we have stopped by political means the acute strike conflicts in August 1980 and have embarked on the road of socialist renewal. All these discussions are filled with great passion and great emotion in the search for ways out of the crisis, in the search for guarantees that new shockwaves do not return and (?with) the resolute demand that all those who are guilty must shoulder the appropriate responsibility. [end recording]

In a speech lasting more than an hour, Stanislaw Kania discussed extensively the current situation in the country and the preparations for the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress. He made his stance known on matters touched on during the discussion. He stated that the congress would evaluate the entire past period, would place socialist renewal on firm ground and would elect a new party leadership of people who are equal to the present problems. All Poles ought to solve the problems that have reached such great proportions in thier own sphere of activity. Our unity must be strengthened. At this juncture Stanislaw Kania recalled the services of the deceased primate of Poland, Cardinal Stefan Wyszynski, and his efforts to unite all Poles. There can be no doubt, said Stanislaw Kania, that we have lost not only a great priest but also a great patriot who have the interests of the nation and state pride of place.

Speaking about the country's economic situation, the first secretary of the party Central Committee drew attention to the drop in current production. During the first 4 months of the current year it is 10 percent lower than in the same period last year. The export situation is becoming more complicated. There has been a considerable drop in national income. The government will present an assessment of the situation at the next Sejm session.

Next, the first secretary of the party Central Committee answered numerous questions and then he discussed the situation at the Ursus mechanical factory.

[Begin recording] Many of the comrades have raised matters connected with the prospects of the combine and of the whole conglomerate. The development of Ursus, as is well known, was connected with starting up production of a tractor made under license. There can be no doubt that Polish agriculture is feeling a great hunger [word indistinct] for high-quality tractors. And as you have also correctly stressed, this tractor must be inexpensive and have a long service life. It is to the credit of Ursus that it has designed and started up at a quite simply lightning rate a model of a home-produced tractor. This tractor was born in unusual conditions. At that time I was working in the Warsaw party committee; at that time I was a secretary of the voivodship committee. We were waiting for this tractor. We admired you. It won medals. Today the following question was again recalled (?here): Were we right in not putting our money in the development of home-produced tractors? Cooperation with Czechoslovakia also created great opportunities. The fruits of this are the tractors made here, which (?have been) mentioned and which are of good quality. It is stressed that this cooperation also provided great opportunities and benefits for us. I think that we have not fully exploited the opportunities in this sphere either. The congress said what it thought about the prospects for development at Ursus.

I think that the most important thing is to recognize the facts to be dealt with here. One of these fundamental facts is the great progress in starting up production under license, although the delays are (?also) great. But every other solution puts off into the unknown future the starting up of the production of modern tractors, and this is the basic fact which must be decisive as regards the nature of the solution. And (?this is so urgent).

A tractor is after all the foundation for mechanization. The discussion about what mistakes have been committed here can and should continue. It does not do any harm until we begin to put behind us facts which can no longer be [word indistinct]. This is why I would like to express the following stand: The matter of the prospects for Ursus boils down to one thing. Unambiguous and effective support must be given to everything that accelerates the starting up of production under license. This is not a decision yet. In any case the view of the first secretary cannot be the reason for a decision. This is how things are, not only as regards the Ursus factory but this is how things should be if (?various big) mistakes [word indistinct]. However, I would not like to say this for my own part but to express the view of the premier, Comrade Jaruzelski, and the view of the government which, despite the need for downright drastic restrictions in investment projects--and further restrictions will be necessary--is resolved to accelerate the investment rate. I am convinced that the Sejm will back such a stance and that the necessary resolutions will be passed. [Word indistinct] is very important here. This is why we must have a great mobilization of our construction potential in order to implement the work as quickly as possible.

I also share the view expressed here from this rostrum that the development of Ursus should become a matter for the party and should be viewed as a state and [word indistinct] task. In order to make it possible to shape such an attitude among the activists of the trade unions--both Solidarity and the Industrial Branch Trade Unions--and among our comrades in the Union of Socialist Polish Youth, this is a great task [as heard]. Without this the program for the development of agriculture and the foodstuff program will have their foundations removed. This is (?how is seen things). Thank you comrades for your attention. [applause] [end recording]

Further Kania Remarks

LD302259 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2025 GMT 30 May 81

["Extensive excerpts" from PZPR Central Committee First Secretary Stanislaw Kania's speech during 29 May session of the report-back and election party conference at the Ursus tractor plant in Warsaw--read by announcer]

[Text] Since the moment when sharp conflicts and strikes were halted by political means in August 1980, vigorous and passionate discussions have been in progress throughout the party. These discussions aim at finding a way out of the crisis and at providing a guarantee which would prevent the recurrence of social conflicts. These discussions are dominated by the demand that all those who are to blame should bear responsibility accordingly. Each meeting and each conference brings new proposals and opinions on these issues. Bystanders observing these activities might be irked by the fact that so much space in the present report-back and election campaign has been occupied by procedural matters. To many people democracy seems a wearisome operation. I think, however, that from this cumbersome procedural practice are derived the party's strength along with the conviction that the authorities elected in this manner provide a guarantee of being able to cope with tasks on the basis of genuine moral and political prestige. Without that prestige the party cannot function.

The ninth congress will examine the whole crop of ideas and proposals which will have been harvested over several months in all party organizations. These ideas and proposals will be enriched and reinforced by the program which, according to all expectations, should be effective and meaningful. It should be a program to develop socialist democracy, strengthen the leading role of the party and stabilize the social and economic situation. This congress should also provide a new form to the party's constitution, the party's statute. This statute must embrace all that leads to profound democratism in the party's life and provides the guarantee of the party's full control over its elements at all levels and control by elected elements over the executive organs. Deviations in this sphere constituted one of the important causes of the still continuing crisis.

Much attention in the discussion has been devoted to the functions of the Central Committee, Politburo, Secretariat and the whole party apparatus. This apparatus must be subordinate to the party, subordinate to the elected elements: It must study and widely apply the best experience achieved in party work as well as collect the material necessary for performing the controlling functions of the party and must elaborate headquarters staff type documents which party elements must have for their work on the party program.

The congress will make an assessment of the whole period of the party's work, including the period since August 1980. The congress will no doubt express its attitude toward the line of action which we took at the time. The political way of solving the great strike conflicts constituted the first step toward the renewal; without such a stand on the part of the Central Committee the renewal would not have been possible. The conflicts were a signal which forced one to think. Their solution in a peaceful manner brought Poland onto the road of socialist renewal. I am convinced that the ninth congress will approve this line because there is no sensible alternative to it.

The line of socialist renewal has met with all sorts of criticism, on the left as well as on the right; however, it has found support in the party. While acc ing the correctness of the chosen line of action, we must assess the way in which this li can be implemented, by what means and with what result. There are many reasons for critic sm here.

The congress will face the formidable task of electing a leadership which will be able to led the party into the struggle for a way out of the country's crisis. The leadership will be able to function efficiently only if the entire party reconstructs its strength and authority. Thus, the congress should elect a Central Committee composed of people with great imagination, deep ideology and readiness to serve party ideals.

The party expects the congress to elect a leadership which will never be short of consideration, patience, and resolution. This is particularly necessary while there is so much tension and emotion in the country, when it is so easy to bring about a situation out of control.

The leadership is going to need exceptional psychological resistance in the face of problems which are created by everyday life, and in the face of both publicized and unpublicized facts.

We are facing complicated tasks. A sharp political crisis continues. There are many threats to the line of socialist renewal. There are many fears of losing control over a dangerous situation, fears of erasing what has constituted the foundation of our behavior since August of last year. It is our firm determination to use exclusively political means of action. This should be appreciated by all Poles. And they should support it, and then the political line will not be threatened.

We shall do everything to look after the well-being of people who want to serve People's Poland. We shall work for the sake of uniting the community, support the work of the trade unions, of Solidarity and the Industrial Branch Trade Unions and all social organizations. We have been working for a long time now on forming such relations with the church as would serve well to unite our society in the name of these objectives which serve successful development of our country and strengthen all factors of its security.

A significant role in this process was played by the deceased Cardinal Stefan Wyszynski. He grew up, as is known, in an era with a different political system. His greatness consists above all in the fact that he correctly read the signs of marching time. He sought a place for the church in our complicated reality. He sought for points of convergence, for national accord, for contacts with the people's state. During many personal conversations with him, I had a chance to see for myself that the primate was well aware of the fact that our party had an historic mission in renewing the country, consolidating the Polish state and strengthening the guarantee of its independent existence. He appreciated the achievements of the party although many a time he was its severe critic and a critic of various aspects of our state's functioning.

Thus not just a great pastor has departed whose loss is mourned by the church, but a prominent citizen has departed, a man who worked for the accord of the church and the socialist state. And as such a man he will no doubt enter history. He was able to rise above all kinds of harm which he suffered himself, above bitter experience, and he was able to place at the fore the interest of the nation and state. He suffered very much because of all the attacks directed at him as the man of dialogue, the man of accord with the state. These attacks were launched by those who do not wish well for socialism and People's Poland. I remember the talks of November of last year and the end of February of this year, when Cardinal Wyszynski reacted sharply to the slanderous articles published by KULTURA of Paris. He was convinced that the sources of these articles ought to be sought here, in our country, and he stressed that there was no force which could divert him from his chosen path, which could prevent him from performing his historic mission to the end.

I am personally convinced that our religious policy and its permanence have been demonstrated by us at the Sixth Party Central Committee Plenum and by successive statements. (?This policy) provides enough evidence for the successors of the primate to be encouraged to continue the line of dialogue, accord and contacts with the state, as initiated by Stefan Wyszynski. On our part we shall encourage this as best we can.

The state of our economy is worsening. Disorganization of the domestic market is getting steadily worse. Supply problems with raw and other materials begin to cause stoppages in production. During the first 4 months of this year industrial production fell by 10 percent in comparison with the same period last year. Exports are falling, which of course influences our country's import potential. At the same time payments out of the wages fund have increased by over 23 percent. All this leads to a serious fall in national income.

We therefore assume that there will be another correction of the socioeconomic plan. At the next Sejm session in just a few days the government will produce an evaluation of the situation together with proposals for extricating ourselves from the most difficult problems. The situation in the mining industry is difficult. This influences our internal situation and exacerbates the difficulties in foreign trade.

The point concerns not only obtaining foreign currencies essential to the purchase of necessary raw materials and coproduced (?goods) in the West, but also the possibility of obtaining essential raw materials in the socialist countries. Reduction [zahamowanie] of our coal deliveries to these countries has caused a decrease in the supply of raw materials for our economy.

I wish to point out that the Soviet Union, taking into consideration our difficult situation, is supplying us with raw materials and other goods regardless of our delays in deliveries to the Soviet Union.

We shall ask our comrades in mining and the trade unions to put in motion all possibilities of increasing extraction. Today nobody has the right to question the miners' right to a 5-day week, but we shall be forced to question--since we have no other alternative--the right of the mines to work 5 days a week. There is no doubt that the miners work very well during the 5 days, but the voluntary work on Saturdays brings too little coal in comparison with our needs. We are looking for various possibilities of increasing employment. There is no other way, for if we assume the current level of coal extraction we shall not be able to cope with our pledges as regards exports and the needs of our country.

We are preparing for the introduction of the economic reform. Many critical comments have been submitted about the proposals of this reform. This draft needs to be improved and the principles of functioning of the economy's various links must be made more precise. There were many reforms in our country, many sensible ones, but in practice nothing has remained of them. Hence we know by experience that a reform cannot be introduced hastily and that there is no more room for yet another shameful failure of programmatic assumptions. We must be aware of conditions which should be created so that the reform does not stay on paper. We should introduce the economic reform consistently but gradually. We start the realization of the reform with the reorganization of central administration. Economic ministries will have their functions changed, larger complexes will be formed, and personnel changes will be indispensable.

The introduction of [manufacturing foreign products under] license in Ursus has been questioned, domestic technical thought has been disregarded, and efforts of Ursus technical personnel have been erased. However, the license should be carried out to the end, since colossal outlays have been invested in it. Any other solution puts off the production commencement time of modern tractors which are the foundations of the mechanization of agriculture.

The discussion on errors made here can continue; it does no harm. The prospects of Ursus boil down to one thing: We must give successful support to everything that will accelerate the start of production of Fergusons. This is my view although it does not indicate a final decision. I would also like to express the view of Premier Wojchiech Jaruzelski who, despite the need for drastic reductions in investments, is determined to accelerate the rate of investment work in your factory. I am convinced that the Sejm will support such a policy. A great mobilization of building potential will be necessary so that the investment tasks can be implemented as soon as possible. I also share the view expressed here at the conference that the development of Ursus should be made a task of state rank.

Concerning the discussion on the issue of worker candidates to the party authorities and as delegates to the ninth congress, I would like to point out that a man's communist viewpoint, his social position resulting from having a defined profession, are equally important. It was rightly said from this rostrum that the most important things are a man's ideological aspect, moral standards and experience. But take great care to consolidate within the party ranks what youth brings and what is represented by the experience of old comrades, veterans of our party's struggle. If we say with concern that not enough workers are being elected to the party authorities, we have in mind the shaping of the party's leadership which will represent all social forces and all professional groups. [as heard] Workers, on the other hand, should be the vanguard of our party. [Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish at 0300 GMT on 30 May also reports the party meeting at Ursus factory, adding: "During the deliberations those attending the conference resolutely condemned the resolutions adopted by the Katowice party forum."]

[This report also says: "The first secretary of the party Central Committee answered numerous questions. The factory PZPR Conference at Ursus set about electing two delegates for the Ninth PZPR Congress, delegates for the Warsaw and district conferences and a new factory PZPR committee."]

WASZCZUK ATTENDS JELENIA GORA ELECTION CONFERENCE

LD291810 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 29 May 81

[Text] An urban-parish PZPR election conference took place in Bogatynia, Jelenia Gora Voivodship. It was attended by Jerzy Waszczuk, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee. The discussion was dominated by assessments of the progress of the precongress campaign, the function of propaganda, and the problems of democracy within the party. Criticisms were levelled at the state of the press information, and this was reflected in the resolution adopted by the conference. The resolution states that what is lacking is the proper presentation of the most important party issues which are to be settled at the congress. The procongress discussion is not being shown as it should be; in the opinion of the speakers, the discussion does not observe the principle of the open character of party life, which fact is reflected in ignoring horizontal accords and the precongress discussion which takes place at that level. Voices were raised during the conference on the need for streamlining party structure and a definition of the proportions and relationships between the party elements at various levels on the one hand and the party apparatus on the other. The speakers also referred to the need for bringing to account those responsible for the present crisis.

Jerzy Waszczuk answered questions put to him by the conference participants. He made a critical assessment of the present economic situation in which the only solution is a consistent implementation of economic reform.

WARSAW STEELWORKS CALL FOR PRECONGRESS FORUM

LD311112 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0100 GMT 31 May 81

[Text] The participants at the second party forum held yesterday at the Warsaw steelworks passed a resolution which says, among other things, that the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress is the greatest chance to save the country from a national tragedy of incalculable consequences. The congress must prepare a repair program for the country which will be accepted by the people, so that the party may become a real leading force. It must be Leninist-Marxist party and a workers party.

The resolution also expressed support for those agreements which strive for unity and consolidation and do not violate the principles of democratic socialism. The sluggishness of the party leadership in purging the party's ranks and in the formation of a program which would be accepted by the entire nation causes anxiety about the preparations and proceedings of the ninth congress. Therefore it is considered necessary to convene in Warsaw a national party workers forum from the 205 largest party ogranizations in order to prepare a common position which will be presented at the ninth congress.

VOIVODSHIP ELECTION, REPORT-BACK CONFERENCES BEGIN

Szczecin, Wloclawek, Olsztyn

LD301106 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0900 GMT 30 May 81

[Text] A new and immensely important stage of preparations for the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress is starting. Today the first voivodship report-back and election conferences in the country are in progress in Olsztyn, Szczecin and Wloclawek.

Our Szczecin correspondent reports that 240 delegates, of whom two-thirds have been elected for the first time, are deliberating matters of importance for the smooth functioning of the whole organization, as well as essential matters of regional and national socioeconomic life.

New officers of the voivodship party echelon will be elected, as will more delegates for the ninth extraordinary party congress. More than 40 percent of delegates to today's conference are party members under the age of 29. Over half the delegates have higher education. The mandates entrusted to them by the workforces of the Szczecin factories are eloquent, on the one hand, of their competence and, on the other, of confidence. Central Committee Secretary and Politburo member Kazimierz Barcikowski is attending the conference.

The voivodship report-back and election conference in Wloclawek is attended by 305 delegates representing 40,000 party members in Wloclawek Voivodship. They are debating current issues of the Kujawy-Dobrzyn land and how to get the voivodship and the whole country out of the present political and economic crisis. The newly elected officers will have to dedicate special attention to such investments as the polyvinyl chloride complex of the Wloclawek Azoty and the works constructed under an Ursus license, which have been dragging on for years, since both are of immense importance in the program for the expansion of agricultural production. Central Committee Secretary and Politburo member Stefan Olszowski is attending the Wloclawek conference.

Szczecin, Wloclawek Conferences

LD3021190 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 30 May 81

[Text] PZPR voivodship report-back and election conferences began today in Szczecin, Wloclawek and Olsztyn, while city party conferences were held today in Bialystok, Lomza and Bielsko-Biala.

The Szczecin conference is attended by Kazimierz Barcikowski, Politburo member and PZPR Central Committee secretary; Kazimierz Cypryniak, PZPR Central Committee secretary; and Janusz Brych, head of the PZPR Central Committee's Social and Professional Department.

Making an assessment of the voivodship party organization's work during the past period, Stanislaw Miskiewicz, voivodship party committee first secretary, stressed among other things the fact that there was in progress at present a process of creating institutional guarantees which would make it impossible for another crisis to occur. The discussion, continued Stanislaw Miskiewicz, must outline the correct directions of party action as well as proposals for correcting its policy in which the working class' interests, both current and long range, should predominate. Only such a use of the fruits of democracy offers hopes for the party to regain the trust of the working people and to convince with its action that the party genuinely expresses the will of the working people.

Numerous speakers among the delegates made a critical assessment of the style of work of the party and state leadership and indicated many examples showing that the socialist renewal of our social and economic life is an extremely difficult process. Andrzej Zychlinski, plants party committee first secretary at the Polish Steamship Company [Polska Zegluga Morska], sharply criticized the centralization of all decisions concerning the management of marine economy on the Baltic coast. Jan Koprowski devoted much attention in his speech to matters concerning housing. Arkadiusz Kaweski, a scientific officer at the Szczecin Agricultural Academy, emphasized that the party program must be realistic and that it is necessary for this purpose to reveal the mechanisms which have brought about the economic and political crisis. This must happen before the party conference along with a full assessment of the extent of the blunders committed. The speaker also suggested that authority within the party should be exercised on the basis of a rotation system and on the principle of permanency of delegates' mandates between congresses and conferences in order to watch over the regular character of the work of the elected elements of authority.

During today's session in Szczecin an election took place to the post of voivodship party committee first secretary. Two candidates were nominated and after a secret ballot Stanislaw Miskiewicz was reelected voivodship committee first secretary.

At the Wloclawek Voivodship conference Edward Szymanski, voivodship party committee first secretary, stressed among other things that during the precongress campaign the composition of the committees and their executive authorities in the urban and urban-parish party organizations in Wloclawek Voivodship have been renewed to a considerable extent; this has contributed much of value to the voivodship party organization's work, including proposals and demands concerning, in particular, democratizing life within the party as well as creating the necessary guarantees.

Participants of the Wloclawek Voivodship conference sent a telegram containing a message of sympathy to the Episcopate in connection with the death of the primate of Poland, Cardinal Wyszynski.

Further on Szczecin

LD301130 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 30 May 81

[By unidentified correspondent in Szczecin]

[Text] At 0900 the 19th report-back and election conference of the Szczecin party organization got underway. Three hundred and fourteen delegates, most of whom have been given a mandate of confidence by their organizations for the first time, will today elect new party authorities for the voivodship, define the directions of action and tasks of the voivodship echelon, discuss issues concerning the Szczecin area and elect more delegates to the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress.

The Szczecin conference is one of the first voivodship-level conferences in Poland. This is why much attention will be devoted to organizational and statutory matters. It has been decided, among other things, to accept the alternative method by which elections for the first secretary of the voivodship committee will be held directly after the report of the outgoing executive of the voivodship committee is presented. These elections will be conducted by secret ballot. A plenum of the voivodship committee will also elect the executive by secret ballot. The members of the executive will be chosen from the plenum participants. One hundred and sixty-seven delegates voted for this method.

Right from the word go the discussion at the conference has been very heated. The matter of Kazimierz Barcikowski raised the temperature of this meeting. Let me remind you briefly that 15 days ago he was accepted as a member of the sectional party organization at the K-2 section of the Adolf Warski Szczecin Shipyard. The party members of this organization at the same time gave Kazimierz Barcikowski credits of confidence and nominated, and elected him delegate to the voivodship conference and also proposed that he stand as candidate for the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress.

Yesterday the factory party committee at the Warski yard held a session. The proposal was heavily criticized and during today's discussion those first to speak in the voivodship committee expressed similar fears about the methods used to bring Kazimierz Barcikowski into the Szczecin party organization. This matter will be resolved in a short while by the delegates themselves during a secret ballot during the election of the first secretary. Shortly after 1200 the deliberations will resume and then the report of the outgoing executive of the voivodship committee will be presented. We expect that today's deliberations of the Szczecin party organization will last until late tonight.

Barcikowski at Szczecin

LD312324 Warsaw PAP in Russian 2103 GMT 31 May 81

[Text] A voivodship report-back election conference of the PZPR has taken place in Szczecin. Kazimierz Barcikowski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee of the PZPR, spoke during the discussion.

Noting the need for the further development of democracy and the extension of the social base of the state, K. Barcikowski said that the main condition for this would be changes in the party's activity as a leading force determining the (?style of state and political) activity. In this connection, the most important problem is the rebirth of party democracy, that is, of what is being implemented today and what is essential to strengthen it both in the precongress discussions of changes (?in the) charter and in the practice of the fulfillment of this charter.

K. Barcikowski also supported the initiative dealing with the formation of voivodship delegate groups to the congress, who would contribute to its preparation. We believe that all decisions of the congress should be worked out in groups before the congress so that [word indistinct] concretely prepared and should pass successfully, said K. Barcikowski. A common group of problems connected with the democratization of our life exists in the need to create self-management (?bases) for the authorities and the state, said K. Barcikowski. The [word indistinct] of a bureaucratic state based on hierarchical systems of economic (?management) must be rejected and replaced by a system of self-management.

The conference elected the delegates to the ninth extraordinary congress of the party. Kazimierz Bacikowski was elected one of the delegates.

Jablonski at 'Stormy' Olsztyn

LD302025 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 30 May 81

[An unidentified correspondent in Olsztyn]

[Text] The 18th voivodship report-back and electoral conference began in Olsztyn before noon, at 1000. The (?348) delegates present at the conference are entrusted with the duty to elect competent and credible party authorities for the region and the duty to formulate a wise and realistic action program.

Proceedings at the conference are just as stormy as the preceding report-back and electoral campaign at the primary party organizations and party echelons. Delegates devote much attention to formal and procedural questions. It has been agreed so far that the voivodship party organization plenum will elect the Olsztyn Voivodship committee first secretary. It has also been established that only the mandate holders [mandatariusze] who have been recommended by their parent party organizations can run in the elections to the voivodship authorities and as delegates for the ninth congress.

The session, attended by Henryk Jablonski, Politburo member and Council of State chairman, began with an introduction delivered by voivodship committee First Secretary Zbigniew Bialecki. So far a dozen or so speakers have taken the floor, and their statements, often sharp, concerned most of all intraparty and economic problems, especially agriculture.

The delegates criticized the voivodship committee report presented to them. Their speeches also mentioned settling of accounts, but various points and suggestions about the program were also presented. The debate will go on until the late hours of the night and it is possible that the session will be continued tomorrow.

Jablonski Address Reported

LD312306 Warsaw PAP in Russian 2100 GMT 31 May 81

[Text] Warsaw, 31 May (PAP)--Speaking at the Olsztyn Voivodship PZPR report-back and election conference, Henryk Jablonski, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Council of State of the Polish People Republic, (?announced) the main aims of the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress. They are: to work out a program for the party, to strengthen the leading role of the party in society, first and foremost to stabilize the social and economic situation of the country and to create conditions for its further development, and also to elect the best possible new party authorities. All the actions being undertaken must be a means aimed at achieving these main aims.

The period preceding the ninth congress will be a period of "fighting for the strength of the party," for its unity and the ability of all its members and links to act, without which the party will not be able to play its role, H. Jablonski said. Speaking of the need to bring the country out of its crisis situation, H. Jablonski stressed that (?it) will not manage to do anything unless all the people work conscientiously, and unless they are concerned with the strength of the state and a strong government. For this reason it is essential to strengthen the prestige [avtoritet] of the authorities and the socialist legality which is essential not only for the organs of power but for all the people.

Olszowski At Wloclawek

LD312304 Warsaw PAP in Russian 2106 GMT 31 May 81

[Text] Warsaw, 31 May (PAP)--Striving for the (?unity of the party) and working out its political line are especially necessary today, when the PZPR is consistently moving toward the extraordinary ninth congress, Stefan Olszowski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee, said at the voivodship PZPR report-back and election conference in Wloclawek. Criticism of the activities of the Central Committee Politburo and of the assumptions for the congress and the draft charter frequently proceed from a stand of eroding Marxism and emasculating the ideological content, and also from (?dogmatic) positions, as were clearly demonstrated in the declarations of the so-called Katowice forum.

The problems of the results of the Politburo's activities in the period since last August are linked with party unity and the elaboration of its line. S. Olszowski stressed that the line of social accord, an innovative one in Polish practice, and equally so in the practice of other socialist countries, is an indisputable achievement of these activities.

S. Olszowski described problems connected with strengthening the state as very important. He stressed that in the Polish people's present situation, and in any situation, they need a strong, democratic and smoothly functioning state.

Concerning the telegrams of condolence sent to the [words indistinct] by the conference, S. Olszowski noted that the late primate will remain (?forever) in the country's history. Regardless of any ideological differences between the party and the church, one must [words indistinct] the late primate his immense feeling of patriotism and civic responsibility.

Warsaw Reports Conferences

LD312056 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1910 GMT 31 May 81

[Text] The session of the voivodship party report and election conference is continuing in Olsztyn for the second day. There are still over 30 delegates who put their names down to take part in the discussion. They did not give their consent to have their opinions cited in the communique. The discussion has an unusually sharp and polemical character. The delegates authorized by their parent organizations put forward proposals in many cases for a clearcut way out of the existing difficulties. Matters concerning agriculture and food economy constitute a significant theme in the discussion. Agriculture represents the future of this region, but practical solutions are wanted, not slogans. The nonsense contained in central directives is pointed out, and work based on common sense is demanded. The point of departure according to several delegates, is the quickest possible preparation of a report on the state of the region's economy. The discussion at the conference will probably last many hours.

In Wloclawek and Szczecin the voivodship party report and election conferences have ended. The conference in Szczecin has carried out the election of the plenum of the voivodship committee as well as of the voivodship auditing commission and the party Control Commission. The election was also conducted of 37 delegates to the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress. They include Kazimierz Barcikowski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee, and Stanislaw Ruskiewicz, first secretary of the Voivodship committee in Szczecin and member of the Central Committee.

Kazimierz Barcikowski, taking the floor during the discussion at the conference, referred to many of the proposals put forward by the delegates and analyzed the socioeconomic situation in the country.

The speaker pointed, among other things, to the need to create the self-government foundations of the authorities and the state in order to finish completely with the bureaucratic system of exercising authority. Kazimierz Barcikowski supported the initiative for creating voivodship groups of delegates to the congress, who will cooperate in its preparation. The speaker also devoted much space in his speech to problems of moral renewal also devoted much space in his speech to problems of moral renewal and of the reinstatement of ideological principles of socialism.

PAP Summary

LD010918 Warsaw PAP in English 0800 GMT 1 Jun 81

[Excerpts] Warsaw, 31 May (PAP)--Report and election conferences in PUWP voivodship branches of Szczecin, Wloclawek and Olsztyn opened a new stage of preparations for the 9th Extraordinary PUWP Congress.

Voices calling for the continuing of the process of socialist renewal of life in Poland, intra-party democracy and socioeconomic stability prevailed during all these conferences.

Member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the PUWP CC Kazimierz Barcikowski took part in the discussion in Szczecin. Speaking about the need for the development of democracy and the expansion of the state's social base, he said that changes in the activity of the PUWP itself--as the leading force determining the style of the state and political activity--are the basic condition of it. In this respect, the most important is the problem of the revival of intraparty democracy. This is what is actually taking place today and what should be confirmed by the statute and by its implementation.

"We must reject the model of a bureaucratic state, based on hierarchical system of economic administration, and replace it with a system of self-government. To attain this goal, territorial self-government in which People's Councils would be real managers in towns and countryside would be organized anew. The assumptions of appropriate legislation are under preparation. The government recently examined a bill on the workers' self-management which will soon be submitted to the Sejm. It is also examining bills on self-government of farmers and higher schools and on trade unions. Projected changes in government structure, to be submitted to the next Sejm session are an important aspect of democratization of Poland's social and economic life," said Barcikowski.

The Szczecin conference elected 37 delegates to the 9th congress, including Political Bureau member and PUWP CC Secretary Kazimierz Barcikowski.

Speaking at the voivodship electoral onference in Wloclawek, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the PUWP CC Stefan Olszowski said that the road on which we embarked and the present way of solving the crisis are basically different from those undertaken in 1956-57 and 1970-71. They are accompanied not only by an analysis of the crisis but also by seeking and establishing appropriate legal guarantees. That is why such great importance should be attached to the package of the so-called civic laws now under preparation.

The initial contacts and agreements of the appropriate government commissions with representatives of Solidarity, and Branch and Autonomous Trade Unions bring goods results and should become permanent vehicles for action, Olszowski stressed.

The PUWP electoral and report conference in Wloclawek, which debated continuously for almost 29 hours, elected new first secretary of the PUWP voivodship committee--32-year-old Krystian Luvzak. In a secret ballot, he obtained the greatest number of votes from among the three candidates.

Twenty-two delegates of the Wloclawek Voivodship, including the former first secretary of the PUWP voivodship committee in Wloclawek, were elected for the 9th party congress.

Member of the Political Bureau and president of the Council of State Henryk Jablonski took the floor at the PUWP voivodship report and electoral conference in Olsztyn. He pointed out that the main goals of the 9th Extraordinary PUWP Congress would be to work out the party programme, to consolidate the PUWP's leading role in the society and to elect the best possible new party authorities.

The period dividing us from the 9th congress, said Jablonski, will be a time of "battle for the PUWP's strength," for its [word indistinct] and the ability of all its members and links for action, without which the party will not be able to fulfill its role and function.

RESULT OF 28 MAY TORUN MUNICIPAL CONFERENCE

LD291848 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 29 May 81

[Text] As reported earlier, the first part of the PZPR municipal report-back and election conference was held in Torun yesterday. The conference was devoted to the acceptance of reports made by hitherto municipal authorities, the regulation of debates, and the presentation of candidates for election to authority bodies. The conference ended late last night. By 363 votes to 354--a majority of 9 votes--delegates approved the mandate of Zbigniew Iwanow to the municipal party conference in Torun.

The submission and presentation of candiates for the municipal committee, municipal audit commission, and municipal party control commission and for the voivodship conference, want on for several hours last night. The majority of candidacies were discussed earlier at parent party organizations, or at large teams of delegates. Despite this, some persons--including Zbigniew Iwanow--gave up their candidacies. On 2 June, delegates will be working in six problematic teams to establish the program for the municipal party organizations. On 4 June, the second plenary part of the conference will be held.

DISCUSSIONS AT LESZNO PARTY CONFERENCE REPORTED

LD292152 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1900 GMT 29 May 81

[Text] Debate at the party municipal report-back and election conference in Leszno continued for over 18 hours. The discussion was stormy and the report submitted by the outgoing executive was sharply attacked. The municipal branch was accused of sleeping through the renewal. It was stressed in the discussion that the bringing to account of those who have failed has been too slow. The fossilized branch body, which works so well in a system in which orders are received from above, was helpless when the masses demanded democratization. But the subsequent administrative reforms in personnel policy brought a family and sectarian system into force. People have been elevated who in normal social conditions would have had no chance, and they have guided the life of the 35 million people in this nation.

We must end the sort of renewal which in effect means the constant renewal of some comrades.

WORKERS CONTINUE HUNGER STRIKE IN SOSNOWIEC

LD300934 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0600 GMT 30 May 81

[Text] The five workers from the house construction factory in Sosnowiec are continuing their hunger strike. They are pressing for the release of political prisoners. The hunger strikers are receiving medical checks twice a day. Their state of health is not giving rise to any great danger.

Hunger strikes are also being continued by several groups of workers at plant No 7 of the small car factory in Sosnowiec and at the Medical Academy in Gdansk.

TANJUG CONDEMNS ALBANIAN REJECTION OF SFRY PROTEST

LD291446 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1315 GMT 29 May 81

[Text] Belgrade, 29 May (TANJUG)--The Albanian Government has stated that it will not meet its international obligation to ensure, as host country, the conditions of full security needed for the normal functioning of other countries' diplomatic missions.

This transpires from the latest report from the Albanian news agency (ATA), which rejects and describes as unfounded the Yugoslav Government's protest against the bombing of the SFRY Embassy in Tirana on the evening of 23 May and Yugoslavia's demand that the culprits be found and punished. The report also says that the Albanian Government "will not delete one single comma from its statement." in which, as our public knows, the "blame" for the bombs thrown on the building of our missions is laid on Yugoslavia.

In reply to Yugoslavia's repeated demand for a serious and real investigation, Albania has stuck to its original explanation, thus justifying the terrorist methods used on its own territory against another country's diplomatic mission. Albania shows no willingness to take the measures needed to protect life and ensure normal work for citizens in the diplomatic mission. This unwillingness on Tirana's part best shows who is in fact behind this subversive act and whom and what the Albanian Government supports.

PARTY JOURNAL CONDEMNS ALBANIAN 'TERRORIST' ACTION

LD301044 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0935 GMT 30 May 81

[Text] Belgrade, 30 May (TANJUG)--In its latest issue, the League of Communists of Yugoslavia weekly KOMUNIST asks for whose account and with what prospects does Albania escalate its hostility toward Yugoslavia?

KOMUNIST writes that, regardless of what kind of explosive devices were thrown at the Yugoslav Embassy in Tirana last Saturday, it is evident that the attack was an "impermissible terrorist act and a gross violation of rules of civilized behaviour and a valid international convention." The League of Communists weekly writes that the Yugoslav public "was primarily interested in what the Government of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and not its experts would have to say about the moral and political message of the attack on Albanian-Yugoslav relations."

The weekly recalls Yugoslavia's exceptional tolerance toward the "dealings of Albanian agents in Yugoslavia and the fierce anti-Yugoslav propaganda" pursued by Tirana because of Yugoslavia's "interest in the independent and non-bloc position of Albania."

KOMUNIST in conclusion writes that "the governing team in Tirana" doubtlessly knows for whose account the rift in Albanian-Yugoslav relations is deepened and it adds that "it is necessary for all Albanians to learn the answer to this and to realize where they are being pushed into and why."

CULAFIC CALLS FOR 'FREE FLOW' OF INFORMATION

LD301238 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1115 GMT 30 May 81

[Text] Belgrade, 30 May (TANJUG)--A ranking League of Communists of Yugoslavia official has urged the full implementation of "the constitutional and democratic right of citizens" to "full, timely and objective information."

The newly elected League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee Presidency secretary, Dobroslav Culafic, presented the above stand two days ago at a session of the LCY Presidency Commission for Information and Propaganda Activity.

Culafic said that the "obstruction and limitation of the free flow of news information" suited the nationalist and irredentist forces in Kosovo, the Yugoslav autonomous province shaken by nationalist unrests two months ago.

Rejecting every obstruction of the free flow of news information, Culafic said that the events in Kosovo have shown how all such attempts are incompatible with the Yugoslav system of socialist self-management.

Culafic urged the Yugoslav mass media in their analyses of the situation in Kosovo to devote particular attention to the causes of the limitation of self-management by the bureaucracy and technocracy.

PRISTINA INSTITUTE LCY ORGANIZATION TO BE DISBANDED

LD311424 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1136 GMT 31 May 81

["Noted at the Provincial Institute for Promotion of Education: Not Enough Resolve for Action"--TANJUG headline]

[Text] Pristina, 31 May (TANJUG)--The working group of the Municipal Committee of Pristina League of Communists, which has been trying for a year to help the basic League of Communists organization at the Provincial Institute for the Promotion of Education and Upbringing in normalizing the poor intrahuman and intranational relations, will propose to the municipal committee that the party organization be disbanded.

This proposal explains that the present behavior of communists does not hold out any promise that the situation will be improved or that existing weaknesses will be overcome. Were it not a question of such a significant institution, perhaps the disbanding of a party organization would not deserve so much attention. Such a decision is never an easy one, either for the one who adopts it or for the one to whom it refers. Education and upbringing of the young has never been an unimportant issue. On the contrary, today when we assess that the behavior of a section of young people of Kosovo was the result of bad syllabuses, of insufficient ideological work with the young, of "fake textbooks," and so forth, the question is rightly asked: who has worked in this significant social institution and how? To start with, the institute has a staff of 22, 20 of whom are party members.

The problems of the Provincial Institue for the Promotion of Education and Upbringing are not recent. Proof of this is the fact that 1 year ago the municipal committee formed a working group. In that time 7 party meetings (3 in the past 10 days or so) have been held. If all that we are fighting against today had not arisen, who knows when the working group would have completed its work, if at all. To be truthful, the last three meetings, which were also attended by journalists, bore no resemblance to talks by communists, nor did they represent proof of these people's will and readiness to overcome the present state of affairs. There were plenty of personal insults, interruptions, generalized discussions and verbal support for League of Communists attitudes.

But, despite generalization, an attentive listener could not fail to observe that this collective had no self-managing acts, that self-management was not even "a dead letter on paper," that there was considerable familiarism, that communists did not talk to one another and such like. One of the points on the agenda of the last meeting was criticism of one's own behavior. All of them to the last man admitted that they had made mistakes, that they had not been resolute enough and that they would decisively implement League of Communists policy in the future. However, it was not said what those mistakes had been or where it was that resolve had not been manifested.

Kajtaz Resaj even said "let society give us another opportunity to try again," as if it is not a question of an institution which exerts a direct influence on the education and upbringing of young generations, as if it is a question of work where experiments are permitted.

Riza Brada discerned his mistakes in this "stormy temperament and lack of tolerance."

It was interesting to listen to advisers for individual spheres of tuition about the way they had "cleansed" programs adopted at the Republic of Serbia level "from ideologically unacceptable matters." The well-known poem by Milan Rakic, "Simonid," had been thrown out of the syllabuses, in Nada Ristic's words because it mentioned "Albanians." This is, she noted, unacceptable for this environment. If all art and history were cleansed like that, what would be left? Our history would be clear and beautiful and nobody would have anything with which to reproach anybody else.

Of course, at this moment there is no need to insist on trifles, because all the consequences are grave and more than evident. But, certain things must be clarified because of that which still should be done. Due to the serious and grave situation, the party organization has formed a comradely council which, in line with the statute, should have proposed measures and punishments for individual League of Communists members. Following such grave assessments about the poor intrahuman and intranational relations, noncommunist type of behavior, and fettering self-management development, the proposed punishments are more than odd, only four members have been proposed for final warning and two for ordinary warning.

The debate in connection with the proposed measures was interesting. Everybody was in favor of comrades envisaged to be given final warning being put on the list of those who should be given an ordinary warning, while two were "allowed" to be punished by warning before expulsion from the party. Judging by everything the party organization will be disbanded. The measure, though late, is correct. But the question which arises is--who will implement the tasks facing the Institute for the Promotion of Education and Upbringing of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo? This, unfortunately, was not stated either at the meeting or in the assessment of the working group.

PRISTINA RADIO ON EMIGRATION OF SERBS, MONTENEGRINS

AU311547 Pristina Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 30 May 81

[Saban Hiseni commentary]

[Text] In the discussions at the 17th and 18th sessions of the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists and at the subsequent sessions held by the League of Communists of Serbia and the LCY, several speakers broached the topic of emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo. The commentary prepared by Saban Hiseni, director of Pristina radio, says more about that:

The question of a critical approach to the problem of emigration of the Serbs and Montenegrins from various communities of our province was raised at the latest party and other meetings held at the level of the province, Serbia and Yugoslavia. According to the constructive statements in the aforementioned discussions, especially the basic organizations of the League of Communists, the Socialist Alliance and other organized socialist forces in the communities where that emigration has taken place and has been in evidence have failed to devote due attention to the problem.

Some individuals either underrated the problem or were insufficiently ideologically-politically prepared to initiate any real communist discussion on the causes and consequences of each individual case of emigration regardless of the motives of emigration, whereas some others tried to create phenomena from some individual and incompletely explained cases. Both approaches left rather considerable scope for various speculations and various misinformation that could not contribute to providing a comprehensive picture of the real political and security situation in our province.

The issue of emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins is especially sensitive and complex in the present situation in which, acting on the basis of their well-known positions, the Albanian nationalists and irredentists as well as all those who--according to their own views--wish to fabricate a specific affair from all that, are engaged in various calculations and manipulations. Therefore, the actions of the League of Communists and other organized socialist forces in every individual community should fill on a long-term basis that vacuum in which many are left wandering and provide answers to the numerous questions of which we single out the following: not the question of whether emigration is taking place, but instead the question of which specific cases of emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins and their families have resulted from pressures, blackmail and threats by the nationalist forces and elements among the ranks of members of the Albanian nationality? Which of the cases involved have resulted from the intolerable conditions together with members of other peoples and nationalities? Which of the cases involved can be attributed to the normal fluctuation and circulation of cadres, working people and agricultural producers?

The answers to these and other similar questions have not been imposed by the newly created situation, but represent instead part of the long-term activity of the League of Communists of Kosovo and other subjective organized socialist forces aimed at creating, through everyday activity, all the necessary optimum conditions in this part of Yugoslavia so as to ensure that the community of members of all peoples and nationalities will be understood and deepened as an historical inevitability and as an essential prerequisite for the existence and further strengthening of the unity of the self-managing socialist and non-aligned Yugoslavia as a community of equal peoples and nationalities living within it.

RILINDJA SAYS 'MAJOR PART OF PROBLEM' NOT OVERCOME

LD301704 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1117 GMT 30 May 81

[Redjep Zogaj commentary on front page of 30 May RILINDJA: "For Even More Decisive Action"]

[Text] Pristina, 30 May (TANJUG)--Last week was full of intensive actions by the organizations of the League of Communists throughout Kosovo. The ideopolitical struggle is gaining momentum through a critical study of the existing political circumstances and security situation, parallel with ideopolitical differentiation. Of course, this resolve which is manifested among a majority of communists and other organized socialist forces so as to settle accounts with counterrevolutionary elements and to carry out a resolute differentiation at all levels and in all environments, is yielding first results which are encouraging, but with which we are not yet satisfied.

The position is that the enemy is still active among us in various forms--either by the writing slogans of nationalistic or irredentist content, or through other forms of hostile activity. For this reason, today we still work and are active in exceptional circumstances.

Everyone must be aware of this, not in order to be concerned, alarmed, or disheartened, but so as to be aware that without concrete changes, especially in the minds of some people who are burdened with Albanian nationalism, and without a consistent struggle against nationalistic and irredentist manifestations and their protagonists, and without settling accounts with counter-revolutionary elements--and this means without shutting off all the sources from which the protagonists of nationalism are fed--the next step, which is stabilization of the political situation, cannot be made. A majority of communists, working people and citizens in Kosovo are committed to this end.

I do not believe that even the communists who belong to an older generation recall a political situation which called for greater courage as a man and greater communist courage than the courage required in this present situation so that with everything at our command we can jointly battle to overcome everything produced by the counterrevolutionary forces which, objectively speaking, have brought us to a crossroads. Anyone who does not understand the gravity of this problem, anyone who does not enter the broad front of the struggle to overcome it, any opportunist conduct, any case of focusing attention on a problem of secondary importance, and any attempt to seek a way out from a position outside this front--the front of struggle against Albanian nationalism and irredentism which has been responsible for counterrevolutionary actions--cannot be described in this exceptional situation other than as an attempt to extend the life of the present still unstable political situation. For this reason all progressive forces--primarily from among the Albanian people--are dutybound today more than ever before to blaze the trail of national affirmation and to achieve this through concrete ideopolitical struggle and measures against all manifestations and protagonists of Albanian nationalism and irredentism. This struggle does not require phrase-mongering pundits or waverers or indeed those who have not joined the concrete ideopolitical struggle with all their heart.

Let no one labor under the illusion that a major part of the problem produced by enemy and counterrevolutionary forces has been overcome. However, let no one be encouraged to think that the complex political situation which we are confronting today cannot be overcome with even more consistent struggle. Today, and on this occasion too, we must particularly stress that the decisive action of creating a stable political situation urgently requires a total commitment to improving the situation in the economy, and to all intents and purposes this means taking all necessary measures in order to more vigorously suppress all subjective shortcomings manifesting themselves in the context of a faster economic development.

This also implies the kind of ideopolitical activity which contributes to the further consolidation of brotherhood and unity and togetherness, and this in turn implies even greater and more resolute involvement for the development of self-management in all environments and the unhesitating march forward along the path of nonalignment and preservation of the independence of our country, the RILINDJA commentary says.

INTERNAL AFFAIRS SECRETARY VISITS KOSOVO

LD291814 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1424 GMT 29 May 81

[Text] Belgrade, 29 May (TANJUG)--Franjo Herljevic, federal secretary for internal affairs, has paid a 3-day visit to the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo. Herljevic had talks with David Nimani, president of the Presidency of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, Veli Deva, president of the Presidium of the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists of Kosovo and other leaders of the province as well as with representatives of the state and public security services on the local situation and on the tasks of the internal affairs organs and other factors of social self-protection.

ASSEMBLY COMMITTEE ASSESSES SOCIAL SELF-PROTECTION

LD291124 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1425 GMT 28 May 81

[Text] Belgrade, 28 May (TANJUG)--By virtue of its activity and results, social self-protection has proved itself to be the most effective and adequate form of protection for self-managing society. This was stated today at the session of the Committee for Internal Affairs of the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly. Chaired by Jose Bozio, delegates discussed the realization of social self-protection in the system of self-management, on the basis of a report prepared by a working group of the committee.

The experience so far gained, delegate Eduard Cencic said, proves that our society possesses a vast moral potential for the realization of its protection, thanks to the fact that the efforts of the whole of society have been aimed at bringing social self-protection closer to its basic proponents, the working people and citizens. It seems, however, that this vital prerequisite for the development of social self-protection is not being fully implemented. On the one hand we can speak about the examples of the good functioning of social self-protection in work organizations or local communities, while on the other we have quite a large number of environments in which social self-protection exists only in an embryonic form or hardly exists at all.

The working group found that citizens are not involved in social self-protection to a satisfactory extent. Specialized services and social organs are more involved in this work. It is obvious that the sociopolitical essence and aims of self-protection have not been understood in all environments. [word indistinct] are reduced at times and the broader involvement of citizens has failed to materialize, despite expectations.

It was also noted that in a number of environments the results achieved in suppressing negative and harmful phenomena by means of self-protection are notable, but that viewed as a whole the progress achieved is not great. Social property is still suffering from impermissible damage, which is due both to direct criminal acts and other forms of illegal behavior and to an arbitrary attitude to work obligations.

The phenomena of poor business ethics and lack of discipline in respecting self-managing legal documents, such as agreements and accords, are also serious. The most obvious example are the so-called useful malversations, which are kept secret and hushed up in the environment in which they manifest themselves. The violation of self-managing rights and bureaucratic despotism in the behavior of individuals and groups, which at times have a very unfavorable effect on the political mood in associated labor, are also quite widespread.

Social self-protection is not adequately represented in the work of delegate assemblies and other structures either. By no means has it become a constant theme and concern of the sociopolitical communities. Delegates only turn their attention to the problems of protection sporadically, when something has already happened. Delegates noted that on the whole, it is the League of Communists which concerns itself most successfully with social self-protection. In other organizations the problem of protection has not yet become an integral part of their regular activities.

Delegates favorably assessed the material presented by the working group, but observed that the committee should now establish the direction of the action and set specific tasks.

The results achieved in developing social self-protection are quite significant, but the work on its socialization is still lagging behind. Expert organs are unable to do all this work on their own.

The meeting did not fail to assess the state of affairs in Kosovo, naturally from the point of view of social self-protection. Perhaps we were deceiving ourselves somewhat when we listened to assessments of the security situation, it was stated at the session. The poor quality of the political work as a whole obviously could not leave social self-protection unaffected in the province. The expert organs also bear their share of responsibility for this.

Drawing attention to the need for society at all times to possess accurate appraisals of the security situation, delegates said that Kosovo could repeat itself in some other form unless we become better organized and prepared for self-protection.

DISMISSED PROFESSORS' PRESS LAW APPEAL REJECTED

LD281002 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2110 GMT 27 May 81

[Text] Belgrade, 27 May (TANJUG)--The Commission for Requests and Proposals of the Assembly of Yugoslavia today rejected a proposal by eight people for amending an article in the Law on Prevention of Press Abuse. The proposal submitted by these citizens, among them by writer Dobrica Cosic and philosopher Ljubomir Tadic, is unfounded and, in case of this article's removal, "possibilities would be created for abuses of the press and other forms of information," the commission evaluated.

The submitters' claim that "hidden censorship" is to be found in the Law on Prevention of Press Abuse Art. 4.

The Art. 4 provides like press law provisions in many other states do, that two copies of each printed matter is to be immediately sent to the competent public prosecutor.

The commission established that this article is not in contravention of their articles of the same law or of provisions in the republican and federal constitutions.

Explaining the relevant law provisions, Ismail Bajra, the federal secretary for information, said that the Art. 4 was voted after an attempt in the recent past to abuse the freedom of the press in order to endanger "the fundamental values of Yugoslav society."

The practice to date has confirmed the appropriateness of this law voted in December, 1976, Bajra added.

Because of his nationalistic stands, writer Dobrica Cosic was condemned by the Yugoslav public, while philosopher Ljubomir Tadic was removed from Belgrade's Faculty of Philosophy together with a group of other professors under a decision taken by the Republican Assembly of Serbia for his ideological abuse of his professorship.

PUBLIC PROSECUTORS NOTE INCREASE IN ECONOMIC CRIME

AU221935 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 23 Apr 81 p 8

[T. Nesic report]

[Summary] Nis, 22 Apr--Judging by the reports received by public prosecutors, the number of economic crimes in 1980 increased in all parts of Yugoslavia. However, it is uncertain whether the number of recorded economic crimes really reflected a higher economic crime rate or was due instead to an intensified and more successful activity in uncovering and prosecuting these crimes. This was one of the main issues discussed at the 2-day conference of the federal, republican and provincial prosecutors that concluded in Nis today.

It was reported at the conference that last year more than 51,300 individuals were denounced for economic crimes and that about 35,000 of them were indicted, marking an increase of some 30 percent as compared with 1979. The damages caused to the social property by economic crimes amounted to a total of 760 million dinars. The most common economic crime was theft of social property: More than 8,000 individuals were charged with that crime. More than 5,000 individuals were charged with a new type of economic crime, that is, with issuing invalid checks. It was also noted at the conference that managers in the economy formed the largest group among those charged with economic crimes: More than 2,400 managers were indicted. They were followed in this respect by accountants, treasurers and directors.

All prosecutors at the conference claimed that they still do not receive reports on all economic crimes that are actually committed and Vuk Goce Gucetic, federal public prosecutor, concluded on the basis of these claims that the real economic crime rate has increased. The conference concluded that in the future the public prosecutors would continue to devote great attention to the economic offenses that obstruct the implementation of the economic stabilization policy. Last year the public prosecutors received more than 23,600 reports on economic offenses.

BELGRADE LC CITY ORGANIZATION DISCUSSES TASKS

LD291148 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1640 GMT 28 May 81

[Text] Belgrade, 28 May (TANJUG)--Defense and protection forces in Belgrade have grown stronger and society has increased its ability to oppose all the forms of hostile activity. However, the results achieved do not mean that there are no serious shortcomings and omissions in this field. These are some of the basic points made in the discussion on the realization of the attitudes of the League of Communists on all-people's defense and social self-protection held today at the Belgrade League of Communists City Conference session.

In keeping with these appraisals attention was drawn, among other things, to the need for an even higher degree of socialization of defense and protection duties and for even fuller involvement of working people and citizens in discharging these duties. In addition to the observation that the committees for all-people's defense and social self-protection, being a new institution in the sociopolitical system, represent a turning point in the involvement of the League of Communists in Belgrade in the fundamental problems of defense and protection, it was also stressed that special attention should be paid to the further development and promotion of the methods and substance of their work so as to enable them to act in good time and effectively in every situation. In this connection it is of exceptional importance that in their activity the committees should not neglect the activity and responsibilities of the basic organizations of the League of Communists and of other sociopolitical organizations and self-managing organs and bodies, but should make such activity even more effective.

The session also defined the tasks in the further development of territorial defense and civil protection. With reference to social self-protection, it was noted, among other things, that the political climate which is increasingly developing enables the working people and citizens to accept social self-protection as an integral part of self-managing life and everyday activity in work organizations, local communities, municipalities and the city. There was criticism of shortcomings in the work of self-management workers control bodies--their passive attitude, the fact that they are uninformed, their lack of cooperation with the workers councils, management organs and expert services and the fact that they often fail to act until problems have grown, until excesses have occurred.

The main attention should be focused, it was noted, on efforts to enable all self-managing and sociopolitical elements to be active constantly and daily. It was also noted that self-managing action should not fail to materialize in response to illegal price increases, appropriation of social property, arbitrary behavior and violation of the workers rights, and failure to comply with court and self-managing decisions. In countering this kind of behavior, court decisions do not suffice; there should also be self-managing and political actions and measures aimed at ensuring compliance with court decisions. Mention was made in this connection of concrete examples--the case of Beograd-Inzenjering, misuse of funds in the self-managing interest communities in the municipalities of Rakovica and Cukarica. Wherever self-management is more highly developed, it was noted, there are fewer deviations and attacks on social property. Owing to this one should not speak about social self-protection as something separate from the development of self-managing relations and the delegate system.

We must ensure, the Belgrade League of Communists City Conference said, that all the basic organizations of the League of Communists regularly appraise the state of affairs and the political situation in their own environment and that they want to do so not for any formal reason, not because they are asked to do so by some organs "from above," and not just in connection with any particularly excesses and incidents. Communists must always keep abreast of events in their own environment. This style of work is being adopted too slowly in a number of basic organizations of the League of Communists. This is due not only to ignorance and lack of understanding, but also to resistance which manifests itself primarily as a means of concealing shortcomings, irregularities and slackness in one's own environment and of avoiding the responsibility for that, which is a kind of opportunism that seriously undermines the capability of the League of Communists.

During its work the Belgrade League of Communists City Conference noted that the hostile pamphlet published in the form of a collection of poems by Gojkoa Djogo under the title "Wooly Times", which crudely attacked the achievements of the revolution and insulted President Tito personally, had been made possible by the system of making decisions in isolated groups, without the necessary broader self-managing insight and influence. The attitude adopted by the basic organization of the League of Communists of Prosveta [publisher of "Wooly Times"] while determining the political responsibility for so grave a mistake was appraised as opportunist. This organization of the League of Communists was asked to reassess its disciplinary measures and bring them into line with the political qualifications which it pronounced in connection with the publication of "Wooly Times". Apart from political responsibility, this organization is also expected to fully establish the level of self-managing and work responsibility in the collective.

The Belgrade League of Communists City Conference described the counterrevolutionary nationalist-irredentist demonstrations in Kosovo as a most drastic form of intensified pressure by the foreign and internal enemies within the framework of the attempts to destabilize Yugoslavia and as a part of the calculations about the so-called "Post-Tito period."

The communists, working people and citizens of Belgrade, it was stressed, experienced these events, as did all working people throughout Yugoslavia, as the most brutal attack on the country's integrity, on brotherhood and unity and socialist self-management. This is a counterrevolutionary act which is most resolutely opposed by the communists and working people of Kosovo and the whole Yugoslav community. The communists of Belgrade unreservedly support the action based on the conclusions of the LCY Central Committee and, at the same time, are struggling with equal determination against any manifestations of Serbian nationalism and all other forms of hostile activity in their own environment, as well as against all such manifestations of hostile trends in any other part of the country, it was stressed at the session of the city conference.

Milan Daljevic, executive secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, also took part in the discussion at the Belgrade League of Communists City Conference session. He stressed, among other things that the events in Kosovo had confirmed the importance of the unity of the system of defense and social self-protection. Our system of defense and self-protection, Daljevic said, presupposes and makes possible creativity, initiative and the expression of all the national republican, provincial, regional and other characteristics and this should be developed and respected. This creative action should be supported, but our system of defense and self-protection must not be divided by any borders. Energies and resources of the whole of Yugoslavia have been used and will continue to be used as necessary for the defense and protection of Yugoslavia's independence and integrity and for the protection of the constitutional order. With all of Yugoslavia's energies we shall defend every inch of the soil of Yugoslavia as a whole, this should be understood by both domestic and foreign emeies.

SERBIAN LC HEARS REPORT ON MARXIST CENTER

AU211711 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 21 May 81

[Text] At its session today, the Central Committee Presidium of the League of Communists of Serbia adopted the report on the past work and orientation program of the Serbian Marxist Center. Aleksandar Vlajkovic reports more extensively:

Prvoslav Ralic, director of the Marxist Center, emphasized the importance of a number of topics that will be specially studied separately. The ideological and social origins of the extreme leftist trends will be one of these topics because, as was said, the game of concealed appraisals of their character and the extent of their presence in our society should not be allowed. It is also planned to hold discussions on the topic of a synthetic-critical approach to studying the history of the Serbian people, and elaborating the historiographic materials. The place and role of Serbia as a sociopolitical community within the framework of Yugoslav federalism will also be more extensively discussed in the future. Due attention will be devoted to the problems of the society's development also and, within this context, primarily to the development of self-managing socialist Serbia within the Yugoslav community and to unsolved problems in the development of intranational relations.

Certain shortcomings in the work of the Marxist Center were noted. In this connection it was particularly noted that sociopolitical workers insufficiently participate in the center's work. A lack of development of a dialogue between theory and political practice results not only in abstract theory and political pragmatism, but also creates certain ideological and political problems. It was stressed that the Marxist Center should concern itself to a greater extent with the problems of the younger generation, and that in this connection the Marxist Center at the university should be strengthened.

Attention was called to the need for linking the Marxist Center's program to a greater extent with the program orientation of our journals, newspapers and radio and television programs. In this connection it was noted that this ideological work has been rather neglected in the information media. It must be intensified during the precongress period and the proposed program provides good encouragement in this respect.

The Central Committee Presidium of the League of Communists further adopted a report on the editorial policy of the newspaper KOMUNIST for the past year, and the program of work for this year will be considered at one of the future sessions of the Presidium.

SERBIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES PRESIDENT RESIGNS

LD290512 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 28 May 81

[Text] Pavle Savic is no longer president of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts. At its session today, the assembly of Serbia's highest-ranking scientific and art institution accepted Savic's irrevocable resignation from the office of president of the academy. Ljubisav Andric reports from Belgrade:

Pavle Savic, academician, prominent scientific and social worker and nuclear physicist of world repute, accepted the responsible office of president of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts 10 years ago with the aim and honest intention of changing it, opening a wider [words indistinct] exact sciences, turning the academy into a working institution, creating a new style of work in it. What has happened is what no one expected to happen: The academy replaced its president. This is how a brief report will read on today's regular session of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and arts, which unanimously accepted its president's resignation.

To prevent any dilemmas, confusion and rumors caused by the change at the top of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Pavle Savic clearly and with dignity explained why he had decided to take this step. In a written statement which he read, he stressed that he had done so in order to express his disagreement with the proposed candidates for election to the academy, among whom was a candidate who had been sentenced to several years' rigorous imprisonment as a Cominformist.

This seems only to have been the last straw. The prominent scientist and social worker was hit much harder by the fact that his efforts to create a new Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, for a new style of work, had remained without any genuine and broad support inside the academy itself.

Pavle Savic's resignation and release from the office of president of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts must be accepted as an irrevocable fact. However, it must also be accepted that much has changed for the better over the past 10 years in the work of this high-ranking scientific and art institution owing to Savic's persistence. This was also confirmed by Academician Miodrag Tomic, who thanked Pavle Savic for performing the duties of president of the academy and by several members who spoke today about his work over the past decade. It is therefore to be regretted all the more that the change in the Serbian Academy of Sciences is taking place ahead of time and before the expiration of Pavle Savic's term of office.

SLOVENE LC PRESIDIUM DISCUSSES INCOME POLICY

LD261236 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1430 GMT 25 May 81

[Text] Ljubljana, 25 May (TANJUG)--Today's session of the Slovene LC Central Committee Presidium chaired by Franc Setinc, secretary of the Presidium, discussed topical issues of implementing the social policy and protection of the working people and citizens on social ownership foundations. It was stressed that the social policy is a component part of the entire socioeconomic development and thus communists, despite difficulties in present economic trends and despite the high rate of inflation, work decisively for the implementation of the principle: From each according to his abilities and to each according to his work. They also work for the implementation of the adopted overall social policy which should not be altered and of social rights which need not be expanded. However, in the ultimate analysis it is necessary to prevent, through a purposeful policy of solidarity, differences which have their origins in contradictions of the economic development, in material underdevelopment, in other inequalities and even in the distribution of social rights in an automatic way.

As we are at the beginning of the implementation of the medium-term plan, by which we want to achieve coordination in the volume of social protection with real realized income, communists should advocate the checking of the volume and criteria according to which various social rights are determined, the checking of norms, standards and prices of services of individual social activities and the checking of criteria in investments in social standard (?projects). In the debate it was proposed in this connection that a social balance sheet be prepared on the basis of which social action, above all in trade unions, could be organized.

It was stressed that there is great discrepancy in conditions of acquiring income and thus the difference in the economic and income positions of workers is created. This also exerts an influence on the distribution of income and personal incomes, on the social standard and on the implementation of the social policy. For there is still influence on the income of individual work organizations by the decisionmaking process alienated from workers, such as prices, the credit-monetary system, banks, the system of economic relations with other countries, the tax policy, customs and, among other things, also the situation on the market. On the other hand, there are still theoretical abstract combinations in self-managing acts and not enough specific criteria which would stimulate workers more efficiently for work and successful management of social resources.

The transformation of the distribution of personal incomes is slow and inefficient and thus discrepancy and deformation still appear between remuneration of the so-called production and nonproduction work, and thus in this way pressure continues on employment outside the production sphere, that is, in the administrative sphere. There are still strong tendencies toward leveling out, which exerts a bad influence on the creative and productive work and acts as a disincentive to those who in fact contribute most to the acquisition of income and development. In the future there should be more remuneration according to work on the basis of uniform criteria and yardsticks in order that in this way a horizontal differentiation in individual branches of professions can be also set in motion, for the situation sometimes arises in which the director of a small collective has a greater personal income than the director of one of the largest work organizations in Slovenia.

Distribution according to results of work in basic organizations of associated labor cannot be achieved if we do not embrace with this method of distribution all levels in society. There are also phenomena of a quick and unjustified increase in personal incomes in environments which have found themselves in a favorable position as regards income acquisition. This shows that we do not implement the attitude according to which those who have higher personal incomes--and these incomes are not alone the result of their work--should set aside more for expanded reproduction.

On this basis there arise among workers unjustified high social differences and also the mentality about it being very important where a worker works and not what kind of results he achieves in his work. This too should be overcome by coordinated social action.

MACEDONIAN LC DISCUSSES NATIONALITIES QUESTION

LD231100 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1507 GMT 22 May 81

[Text] Skopje, 22 May (TANJUG)--At its session yesterday, chaired by Angel Cemerski, the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Macedonia discussed some topical ideopolitical issues of implementing the policy of national equality and of intranational relations in the Socialist Republic of Macedonia.

As a result of the consistent policy of the Macedonian League of Communists, of sociopolitical communities and other socialist subjective forces in Macedonia, a national state of the Macedonian people and of Albanian and Turkish nationalities, exceptional major results have been achieved in implementing equality between the Macedonian people and the Albanian and Turkish nationalities. A large working class has been created, and numerous educational, cultural, scientific and other institutions have been formed and developed in which the policy of equality and of affirmation of progressive national achievements of the Macedonian people as well as of the Albanian and Turkish nationalities are being practically implemented. Within this framework the equal participation of nations and nationalities in all the sections of our social and economic system, in the development of all spheres of social life and relations, and in particular in the development of economic and social activities is being implemented. This is the result and expression of the struggle for cohesion in which the Macedonian people and nationalities express their national affirmation and social transformation.

In this sense, both the League of Communists of Macedonia and the sociopolitical organizations and communities face major tasks also in the next period.

The presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Macedonia stresses that the consistent implementation and further development of the sociopolitical relations and of the political system of socialist self-management, mutual linking up and the deep permeation of class and national interests represent a firm basis and powerful factor in the continuous strengthening and deepening of brotherhood and unity, equality and cohesion of the Macedonian people and nationalities in the Socialist Republic of Macedonia.

However, the statement on the session says, as opposed to the clear policy of the Macedonian League of Communists, also confirmed in practice, there are attempts to minimize or negate the results, from greater Albanian and irredentist positions, in the affirmation of the equitable participation of the Albanian nationality in the entire sociopolitical and economic life of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia.

By standing firmly on the established policy of national equality, which has also been tested in practice, a struggle should also be waged at the same time most decisively and on an everyday basis against pressures of all kinds, against phenomena of national intolerance, against isolationism within narrow national frameworks and for consistent respect for constitutional and legislative norms of education, in particular of the young generation on the basic principles of the national liberation struggle and the socialist revolution, joint interest in the further development of self-managing socialist system in our country, for the further development of the consciousness of our working people and citizens, for the joint life and work within the framework of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia, for the historical linking up and interests within the framework of socialist, self-managing, independent and nonaligned Yugoslavia and for the indivisibility of its integrity and sovereignty.

In this sense, the League of Communists must resolutely oppose all attempts of manipulating with national interests and sentiments. National interests can be achieved successfully only along with respect for the interests of other nations and nationalities and with further strengthening of the Yugoslav socialist community. Therefore, the struggle against nationalism demands uninterrupted activity by all League of Communists members and through its ideo-political differentiation as the fundamental premise of the ideological and action unity in the League of Communists and the consistent implementation of the declared policy of national equality and togetherness.

The Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Macedonia decided that League of Communists membership, organizations and organs in this republic, within the framework of the existing ideopolitical activity as well as through the activity of other social and self-managing organizations and communities, are involved most specifically in comprehensive examination, analysis and direction of the realized policy of equality of the Macedonian people and nationalities who live in this republic. On the basis of the programmed activity, the presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Macedonia will continue to direct and monitor the entire ideopolitical action in implementing the policy of national equality and of intranational relations and will commit itself to the elimination of all negative phenomena and tendencies which manifest themselves in this connection.

VOJVODINA LC SESSION ASSESSES IDEOLOGICAL QUESTIONS

LD291136 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1440 GMT 28 May 81

[Text] Novi Sad, 28 May (TANJUG)--The League of Communists of Vojvodina has waged the ideological struggle on a broad front since its 16th party conference. This conclusion was arrived at by members of the working group who, in connection with the preparations for the LCY Central Committee session on tasks of the LCY in the ideological struggle and on the ideological training of League of Communist members in the present development stage, have had talks in basic organizations of the League of Communists of Vojvodina of the sugar and edible oil factory, of the higher technical school, local community and at the Zrenjanin Municipal Committee of the League of Communists of Vojvodina, as well as at the meeting with communists from the sphere of science, education and upbringing in Novi Sad.

At today's final meeting at the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists of Vojvodina, in a broad exchange of views issues on which greater emphasis should be placed at the forthcoming LCY Central Committee session were indicated. The first knowledge gathered from associated labor and basic and municipal organizations of the League of Communists of Vojvodina, with reference to economic trends, is concern by producers caused particularly by difficulties in supplies of reproduction material and raw materials, the situation in the unified Yugoslav market, exports and imports and the high rate of inflation. In this connection, basic organizations both of the League of Communists and of associated labor often feel fairly helpless in the face of no greater unity of action throughout the country. This is also linked with the question of the extent to which the working class integrated in the delegate system can fight more successfully for solutions and how much the League of Communists acts in this respect as a factor of cohesion.

We face very strong etatist activity in all sociopolitical communities, in the federation, republics, provinces and even in municipalities, and in the state regulating of economic life, including the direct distribution of income. This is reflected primarily in socioeconomic trends, and then in social and political trends too. One can often note assessments about the stagnation of self-management, about etatist relations having the upper hand and about these relations being the method of regulating economic life. This is one of the fundamental issues which the LCY faces; there is also the demand for a reply to the question of how the League of Communists should behave in such a situation, how it should act and how it should activate the entire working class in order that a speedier change in relations of forces, self-managing and etatist forces should be achieved. We must proceed from federal relations in our country, from the independence and responsibility of republics, provinces and municipalities for their own development and enter an area of broader action which the LCY can wage.

The question which is also raised is why the League of Communists agrees to etatist solutions. Is the League of Communists itself also "overtaken" by etatism and technobureaucratism. It was stressed that in this struggle for the strengthening of self-management, the League of Communists must ensure at least a gradual progress, instead of expressing discouragement that not much is being achieved.

It was pointed out in the debate that there is also quite a lot of irresponsibility in the public statements by individuals, statements not sufficiently prepared or substantiated and that this causes confusion and damages political action. It is also believed that greater care should be paid to the moral image of a communist in specific terms. In talking about this, as stated, we make too generalized and abstract statements and therefore direct responsibility is also lacking.

SKOPJE CITY LC ORGANIZATION DISCUSSES SHORTCOMINGS

AU272108 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 13 May 81 p 3

[Z. Perovic report]

[Excerpts] Skopje, 12 May--The city organization of the League of Communists of Skopje in the period since the party congresses achieved significant results in the strengthening of ideopolitical, organizational and action unity and in the development of democratic relations in the city organization. However, certain shortcomings were manifested in the past period, especially regarding the readiness of the basic organizations of the League of Communists, lack of implementation of decisions adopted by higher organs, insufficient participation of some members in building and implementing the League of Communists policy, rather frequent occurrences of mere declarations, formalistic approaches and political neutrality, and opportunism in some of the League of Communists organizations. All this imposes the need to constantly strengthen ideopolitical, organizational and action unity in the development of democratic relations in the League of Communists, it was said at a session of the City Conference of the League of Communists of Skopje last night. Koco Bitoljanu presided.

Koco Bitoljanu in his speech in the discussion stressed the need for constant action by the League of Communists and the need of a constant struggle against nationalism, bureaucracy, technocracy, opportunism and a struggle for constant ideological differentiation in the League of Communists. Bitoljanu pointed out that in the past few days some basic organizations displayed a lack of vigilance and a reserved attitude toward the positions and measures of party organs connected with the events in Kosovo. He pointed to occurrences of opportunism in these basic organizations, which must be constantly and resolutely opposed.

KRAGUJEVAC LC BODIES CONCLUDE DISCUSSIONS

LD291126 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1144 GMT 28 May 81

[Text] Kragujevac, 28 May (TANJUG)--Twenty-seven Kragujevac League of Communist basic organizations singled out by the League of Communists municipal conference at the end of last year, on the basis of "signals" from the grassroots, as possible flashpoints of a nonself-management style of behavior, have concluded their discussions, which lasted several months.

Hardly any stumbling block in these environments has been neglected in an open dialogue between communists in these organizations, with the participation of working groups from the municipal committee. The final result of the most open debate to date in Kragujevac's party life is that basic organizations are coming into the mainstream of events.

Everything that has happened here in the last few years was censured with the correct degree of criticism and everything was given its proper name. Exponents of negative phenomena and attitudes, which led to ideopolitical measures, have been named. A large number of leaders in these environments have been replaced.

In the judgment of the League of Communists Municipal Conference, the earlier assessment that the Kragujevac League of Communists has the strength to confront all difficulties and weaknesses and to solve them in a democratic and self-management way has been confirmed. As was emphasized, this realization is the greatest "political capital" of the more than 20,000 members of the Kragujevac party organization.

Naturally, and as expected, the move to "drag out the truth" in these environments did not take place without difficulties. Although the majority of the 27 party organizations in which the situation of self-management and socioeconomic relations was analyzed held an open discussion with a view to finding the best solutions, there were also environments in which instances of defensiveness and conformism diluted political activity.

Tomislav Jovanovic, president of the Kragjuevac League of Communists Municipal Conference, warned in this connection that "the culture of dialogue, the constructive struggle of views and a critical analysis of problems are still not sufficiently developed in individual environments, which means that party organizations are not sufficiently trained in ideology and action either." Therefore, the activity over the last several months in these environments, which has led to these realizations and to many specific solutions, must not be considered finished. It is all the more important, as Novak Rodic, executive secretary of the Serbia League of Communists Central Committee Presidium, emphasized, to make use of the experiences gained in this activity, especially the realizations about the basic causes of political and self-management deviations, in future activity by League of Communists basic organizations.

MEMBERS EXPELLED FROM PARTY ORGANIZATION IN KOSOVO

AU301919 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 22 May 81 p 5

[R. Milacic report]

[Text] Pec, 21 May--During the ideopolitical differentiation, which is being held in all circles of Pec Municipality, 23 members of the League of Communists were expelled because of opportunistic behavior and hostile activity on the bases of irredentism and Albanian nationalism. Of this number, 8 are from the basic organization of the League of Communists of the Ozrim village, where the basic organization of the League of Communists was dissolved by decision of the municipal Conference of the League of Communists of Pec, and a new one was formed; 10 members from the basic organization of the League of Communists of Nabrdje village, which organization was given a final warning, and 1 each from the automobile parts factory, the industrial battery factory, the Izgradnja work organization, the Kosovotrans collective and the villages of Radavac and Lozan. Proceedings have also been initiated against a number of workers in certain work organizations on suspension or expulsion from jobs.

Because of public speeches based on hostile foundations, six students were expelled from the 11 May secondary school of Pec, and two students from the Mileva Vukovic economic school center. Due to their passive attitude or insufficient consistency--Becir Hoti, president of the Municipal Conference of the League of Communists of Pec, told us--a number of secretaries and members of the Secretariat of the basic organization of the League of Communists in the municipality have recently been replaced.